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# China Report

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6 June 1983

## CHINA REPORT

## RED FLAG

No. 6, 16 March 1983

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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## THE RADIANCE OF THE GREAT TRUTH OF MARXISM LIGHTS OUR WAY FORWARD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 83 pp 2-13

[Speech by Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, at the meeting in commemoration of the centenary of the death of Karl Marx held in Beijing on 13 March 1983; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Comrades and friends:

We are gathered here today at this grand meeting to commemorate the centenary of the death of Karl Marx, founder of scientific communism, great teacher of the proletariat and of the exploited and oppressed masses throughout the world, and the most outstanding revolutionary and scientist in human history.

Marx was a German of the 19th century, but his influence far exceeds the limitations of time and place. He belongs to the whole of progressive mankind as well as to the proletariat of the world and all oppressed peoples and nations. As Frederick Engels said following Marx' death, Marx had fertilized with his powerful thought the proletarian movement of both the Western and Eastern hemispheres.<sup>1</sup> It was under the guidance of Marx' theory that the communists, the proletariat and the people of all nationalities in China embarked on the correct path of revolution and liberation in this enormous yet backward country of the East. The Chinese people have now accomplished the new-democratic and the socialist revolution and become masters of this great socialist country. We are creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, striving to build a socialist material and spiritual civilization and to fulfill the splendid program set forth at the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China. All of us feel more deeply now that, without Marx' theory, China could not possibly have become what it is today. We have learned from Marx, conscientiously studied and drawn wisdom and strength from his works, and shall continue to do so. Therefore, as we honor the memory of Karl Marx, who rests in eternal peace in London, let us today, at this commemorative meeting held in the East, express our deepest gratitude to him.

Comrades and friends:

Marx' greatest contribution to mankind is his theory of scientific communism, which, formulated by Marx together with his closest comrade-in-arms

Frederich Engels, equipped the proletariat and progressive people of the world with the most powerful ideological weapon for criticizing the old world, creating a new world and struggling for their own emancipation.

Marx was the first to combine materialism with dialectics and to apply dialectical materialism to the observation and examination of the history of human society, bringing to light the truths that, in the final analysis, material production constitutes the basis of man's social, political and ideological life taken as a whole and that the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production constitutes the real motive force of historical development. He scientifically explained the role of class struggle in human history and the conditions under which classes come into being, develop and die out.

Marx was the first to discover the secret of the exploitation of labor by capital, namely, the law of surplus value, and to bring to light the circumstances of the birth and development of capitalism and its final historically inevitable replacement by communism.

He was thus the first to transform utopian socialism into scientific socialism, proving that the modern proletariat represents the new social force for the overthrow of the old system and the establishment of the new, and that it is the most promising and thoroughly revolutionary class.

Thereby, he brought about the most radical change in history, economics and philosophy and established a truly scientific world outlook and the most thorough theory of social revolution.

From its very birth, Marxism has demonstrated its mighty power with which no other ideological system can compare. Marx joined the revolution in his youth, and after he became a communist, he directly led the workers movement, identified himself with it and dedicated his whole life to the emancipation of the proletariat. His revolutionary activity was carried on in the 19th century, when European society was in the throes of violent upheavals and revolutionary storms. Under the test of these storms, particularly the severe test of the great struggle for the Paris Commune in 1871, a motley variety of previously vociferous schools of socialism, gradually died out. Marx' theory alone rapidly spread far and wide, because it truly represented the interests of the proletariat and the people at large and brilliantly summarized the experience of both the old and the new revolutionary movements. The proletarian party personally created by Marx developed from a small group of exiled revolutionaries into a "powerful party that made the whole official world tremble."<sup>2</sup>

Marx and Engels have passed away, but Marxism has developed with increasing vigor. The past century has demonstrated, again and again, that the history of Marxism is one of triumph over successive onslaughts by various antagonistic ideological trends and over "encirclement and suppression" by reactionary forces. However serious the setbacks and violent the storms, its revolutionary drive has remained invincible. The past century has also repeatedly shown that the history of Marxism is one in which it has overcome

erroneous tendencies within the Marxist movement, thus continuing its forward march. Revisionism is erroneous because it discards the universal truth of Marxism; dogmatism, too, is erroneous because it regards Marxism as a set of rigid tenets. Both revisionism and dogmatism run counter to Marxism in that they separate the subjective from the objective world and divorce theory from practice. Marxism is a developing science; it is the guide to revolution. Its vitality lies in its constant analysis and study of new situations and problems that arise in the course of practice and in its integration with concrete revolutionary practice at different times and in different countries. This is the well-spring of the unceasing enrichment and development of Marxism and the basic guarantee for its ever-growing revolutionary vigor.

The victory of the October Revolution led by V. I. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party of Russia represented the first momentous development of Marxism after the death of Marx and Engels. Lenin and his party formulated their own line and policies by integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the then latest developments of the world situation in the era of imperialism and with the concrete realities of Russia. From this arose the new development of Marxism, the birth of Leninism, the victory of the October Revolution and the realization of socialist revolution first in one country. If Lenin and the Russian Bolshevik Party had failed to act in the light of the actual conditions in Russia but had held rigidly to Marx' specific conclusion that the proletarian revolution must win victory simultaneously in the major capitalist countries, what would have been the result? There would have been no victory of the October Revolution.

The triumph of the Chinese revolution is the most significant event in the history of Marxism's development after the October Revolution. Under the conditions then prevailing in the world's East, Comrade Mao Zedong and our party integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete realities in China, relied closely on the peasants--the powerful ally of the working class in the rural areas and the main revolutionary force against feudalism--and found the correct path of encircling the cities from the countryside. From this flowed the birth of Mao Zedong Thought and the triumph of the Chinese revolution. If we had not taken this path, but had held rigidly to the traditional mode of revolution in modern Europe, that is, the seizure of state power through urban armed uprisings, what would have been the result? There would have been no triumph of the Chinese revolution.

It follows that a basic lesson to draw from the history of the development of Marxism is that the Marxist party of each country cannot succeed in revolution and construction unless it formulates its own line and policies in accordance with its own concrete conditions and with the international and domestic circumstances in which it finds itself.

For more than three decades since World War II, the world communist movement has followed a tortuous course of development. It has scored magnificent successes and victories, but has also experienced severe setbacks and failures, undergoing a bewildering process of turbulence and division. This

complex historical phenomenon has given rise to a wide variety of reactions throughout the world. Some people have gloated over the setbacks, whereas others have lost their confidence, describing Marxism as being in a state of "crisis." However, amidst such shouts of "crisis," the Marxist parties and organizations of many countries, braving all kinds of attacks, have heroically and calmly carried on the fight. In the tortuous course of development all true Marxists and far-sighted people are discerning a most essential positive factor, i.e., politically and ideologically more and more Marxist parties and organizations have dared to break with blind faith, to emancipate their minds and to think for themselves, thus becoming able independently to integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the revolution in their own countries. Facts have proved that on the question of how to handle correctly the relations between the parties of various countries and of what specific road of revolution to take, the Marxist parties in different countries have a much deeper understanding and are richer in experience and their level is clearly higher than before. Fundamentally, this has created the most important condition for the greater development of Marxism.

In our own Communist Party of China, a change of historic significance has taken place since the 3d Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee in late 1978. Our party fell into dire straits in the 10 years (1966-76) of the "Cultural Revolution." However, in spite of all the difficulties the Chinese people did not lose faith in Marxism; on the contrary, they were able to acquire a better understanding of its truth. In the short span of 4 years or so from the 3d Plenary Session to the 12th CPC National Congress in September 1982, we fulfilled the arduous task of setting things to rights in our guiding ideology. In essence, this means that we have reembarked on the road of integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the actual realities in China under the new historical conditions. This is the only correct road opened up for us by Comrade Mao Zedong. Our personal experience has made us appreciate keenly the brilliance of his thinking and practice and the tremendous wisdom and strength he brought to the party and people when he adhered to this correct road through decades of activity. It has also made us realize that, deviating or departing from this correct road in the evening of his life, even such a great Marxist as Comrade Mao Zedong could not avoid going astray and making distressing mistakes. Therefore, by setting things to rights we mean restoring Mao Zedong Thought to its true essence and upholding and developing it. Some people are prattling right up to now that we have abandoned Mao Zedong Thought. This only shows that they have no idea of what Mao Zedong Thought means, that is, no idea of what Marxism means.

In setting things to rights in ideology, we have resolutely shaken off the "left" tendency and the personality cult that long fettered us, reestablished the principle of seeking truth from facts, scientifically appraised the historical role of Mao Zedong Thought and Comrade Mao Zedong, and restored and developed the Marxist principles guiding our party life. In setting things to rights politically, we have courageously discarded the erroneous theory of "continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" that did us so much harm, correctly reanalyzed the

contradictions in China's socialist society, achieved political stability and unity and shifted the focus of work of the whole party. In setting things to rights in the agricultural system, we have resolutely corrected certain grave and prolonged misunderstandings regarding such questions as the socialist public economy and mass production, overcome the serious egalitarian error of "everyone eating from the same big pot" and created the system of responsibility for agricultural production characterized by contracting for specialized work and by payment being linked to output. In such ways the Marxist principle of "to each according to his work" and the principle of integrating the interests of the state, the collective and the individual are being genuinely implemented in the vast rural areas in the light of China's concrete conditions. The bold reform in agriculture has pioneered a correct road and given our 800 million peasants a free hand to fully tap their tremendous labor potential, develop a diversified economy and expand production in breadth and depth. It has led to a steady rise in purchasing power for means of production as well as for consumer goods and thus to the building up of an extensive socialist market. This has lent tremendous impetus to our socialist modernization drive as a whole, and will continue to do so. Far from losing its foothold or slipping back as some half-baked critics have claimed, socialism has become greatly consolidated and is taking big strides forward in our rural areas. This is because we have given up old forms that were divorced from realities--forms that were either uncritically copied from other countries or arbitrarily devised by ourselves--and have found new forms that are truly Chinese and suited to China's current rural conditions.

We have now entered the stage of creation of a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. But in our economic, social and other activities, there still exist many erroneous ideas and models that do not suit China's actual conditions and that have long fettered people's minds and seriously hampered the development of the productive forces. Only by proceeding from realities, breaking away from such ideas and models and instituting properly guided reforms step by step and in an all-round, systematic, resolute and orderly way can we create a new situation in all fields, better integrate the fundamental principles of Marxism with the concrete reality of our modernization drive and develop scientific socialism even further. In order to achieve the four modernizations (modernization of China's industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology), and to vigorously develop the productive forces, it is imperative to carry out reforms in both the relations of production and the superstructure. We are convinced that, by readjusting those links in the relations of production that are not in correspondence with the growth of the productive forces and those links in the superstructure that are not in correspondence with the requirements of the economic base, always provided that we adhere to the four cardinal principles (these principles refer to adherence to the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship--i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat--the leadership of the Communist Party, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought), and the basic system of socialism, we will surely succeed in building socialism with distinctive Chinese characteristics and bring out to the full the immense creativeness latent in our hundreds of millions of people, so that the superiority of the socialist



system will display itself still better. This, of course, cannot be accomplished in a short time, for it involves a process of constant improvement and progress. But it can be predicted that through one or two decades of hard struggle China, as an economically and culturally backward developing country with a population of 1 billion, will make historic progress in its modernization program under the socialist system and that this will bring a new major victory for Marxism in the East at the turn of the century.

Comrades and friends:

Marx was not only a great revolutionary, but also a great scientist. One extremely important factor which enabled him to found scientific communism was that he mastered all that was best in the culture and knowledge of mankind and integrated it firmly with the workers' movement. As Lenin said, the ideological sources of Marxism lay in its critical assimilation of three main trends of thought prevailing in the three most advanced countries of the time, that is, German classical philosophy, English classical political economy and French utopian socialism.<sup>3</sup> And Marx' theory was able to "win the hearts and minds of millions and tens of millions of the most revolutionary class" because he based himself "on the firm foundation of the human knowledge acquired under capitalism," knowledge which enriched his conclusions.<sup>4</sup> Marx' knowledge was extensive and expert. Rarely in the history of the world has any person achieved such breadth of scope and accomplished so much. Marx won the admiration of many honest scientists, thinkers and historians. The apologists of the old world tried to write him off or branded his theory as being thoroughly "outdated," but facts proved that this was mere wishful thinking. Generation after generation of scholars, young people, activists in the workers' movement, national revolutionaries and other people seeking change have continued to draw inexhaustible strength and confidence from Marxism. This would be inconceivable in regard to any flash-in-the-pan "new trend of thought." Marx' diligence and tenacity were amazing, and particularly in his rigorous approach to scholarly research, he set a worthy example for all scientific workers. Often persecuted by reactionary governments, he had to live abroad in exile, drifting from place to place. But his fighting will became even firmer and he never ceased to strive on along the road of revolution and science. All his life he was plagued by poverty, somewhat alleviated only with help from Engels. Four of his children died either in infancy or childhood and he could not even afford a small coffin for one daughter.<sup>5</sup> He dedicated all his energies and wisdom and the choicest fruits of his scientific research to the working class and to all mankind. This spirit of utter devotion can move one to song and tears. Marx was indeed a working-class intellectual par excellence, and the most outstanding intellectual representing the wisdom and conscience of mankind.

In speaking here of the importance of the mastery of humanity's cultural heritage to the success of Marx' great cause and of Marx as the most outstanding intellectual, I would like to take the opportunity to discuss at some length the correct attitude our party, the Chinese working class and other working people should take toward knowledge and intellectuals.

Since our party's founding more than 60 years ago, its main efforts have gone into leading the people of all our nationalities in the performance of two major tasks. One is the overthrow of the old world, the three big mountains (imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism), and the other is the building of a new world, or the building of a powerful, modern socialist China. Knowledge and intellectuals were necessary for overthrowing the old world, and they are even more necessary for building the new. Furthermore, in a country like China with its low economic and cultural level, whether or not we are able to master modern science and culture is a pivotal factor determining success or failure in our construction. But it is precisely with regard to this key question that our understanding has been inadequate for so long and that we have for years been obsessed with erroneous ideas that depart from Marxism. Today, the correct attitude toward knowledge and intellectuals has therefore become a vital and urgent question, in the integration of the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of China's socialist modernization.

It must be affirmed that our party has had marked successes in handling the question of intellectuals. The founding and development of our party cannot be separated from the efforts of revolutionary intellectuals. In 1939, when the war of resistance against Japan (1937-45) entered a more arduous stage, a decision was taken, drafted by Comrade Mao Zedong, on "recruiting large numbers of intellectuals," and in this well-known document he made an incisive Marxist analysis of the characteristics of the intellectuals in semicolonial and semifeudal China and laid down the policy of recruiting them boldly. History has already proved the importance of this strategic decision to the winning of victories in the anti-Japanese war, in the war of liberation (1946-49) and in our cause after the founding of the People's Republic. In the early years after the birth of new China, our party was, for some time, rather prudent and basically correct in its attitude toward intellectuals. In 1956, that is, after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, Comrade Zhou Enlai, in his report at a meeting on the question of intellectuals convened on the proposal of Comrade Mao Zedong, systematically expounded the relationship between this question and the acceleration of socialist construction. For the first time, he pointed out in explicit terms that the overwhelming majority of China's intellectuals had already become a part of the working class, and issued the great call to "scale the heights of science." Under the party's leadership, progress without parallel in Chinese history has been made in science, education and culture. There have been major achievements in science and technology, including such sophisticated items as the atomic bomb, the hydrogen bomb, rocket carriers and man-made satellites. Not only have we recruited large numbers of intellectuals who were educated before liberation, but we have trained an even larger number of new intellectuals, among whom more than 4 million have received higher education. They constitute the backbone of our intellectual force today, and this contingent is growing steadily. They, along with the workers and peasants with whom they have identified themselves, are people we should rely on, for in their joint efforts lies our hope of attaining, by the end of this century, the advanced world levels of the 1970's and 1980's in science and technology.

But it should be noted that, from the late 1950's onward, we gradually swerved away from the correct orientation and committed serious "left" errors in our attitude toward knowledge and intellectuals. The principal manifestations were contempt for knowledge and specialized studies, the stigmatizing as "bourgeois" of large numbers of intellectuals who loved their socialist motherland and had made important contributions to socialist construction, and discrimination and attacks against them. The result was that many intellectuals felt depressed and not a few were wronged. At the same time, efforts to carry out the strategic task of making our cadres at large better educated and professionally more competent were slackened or abandoned altogether. During the "Cultural Revolution" these tendencies reached heights of absurdity and whoever attached importance to knowledge and intellectuals was described as going "revisionist" and creating the danger of "subjugating the party and nation." Thus, the effects of the "left" mistakes concerning knowledge and intellectuals became an important component of the catastrophic upheaval of that distressing decade.

Since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique in 1976, and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, there has been a marked turn for the better. In 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping further expounded the thesis that the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals have become a part of the working class, thus bringing the party's policy toward intellectuals back onto the right track of Marxism, as is now generally known. At the same time, however, it must be noted that the grave consequences of the prolonged "left" mistakes are far from being liquidated either in our ideology and public opinion or in various political, economic and organizational measures adopted. The working class and other working people throughout the country, all party comrades and primarily the leading cadres at different levels must gain a profound understanding of the Marxist concept on this major issue, so as to meet the urgent needs of vigorous expansion in our cause of socialist modernization. Time is as precious as gold to us. It is high time we solved this question thoroughly and without any hesitation.

Comrades and friends:

What lessons should we draw from the past twists and turns on the question of knowledge and intellectuals? And what truly revolutionary and scientific Marxist concepts should we establish in the light of them?

/First, it is imperative that we fight against the incorrect tendency of isolating Marxism from the cultural achievements of mankind and setting it against the latter, that we establish the correct concept of valuing scientific and general knowledge and that we mobilize the whole party and the whole people to strive to acquire knowledge of modern science and culture./

Where does Marxism come from? Fundamentally, it is no doubt the product of contradictions and of the workers' movements in capitalist society; at the same time it is the result of absorbing human knowledge accumulated over several thousand years. If the cultural achievements of mankind had not been applied to the scientific discovery of the laws governing historical

development and to the definition of the fundamental and long-term interests of the working class, the movement of the workers could only have given rise to various kinds of theories such as syndicalism, economism, reformism and anarchism, but not to Marxism. Moreover, our comrades have all learned through personal experience that to study Marxism one has to have a certain amount of knowledge. Simple class feeling can make one receptive to some isolated Marxist concepts, but is inadequate for a systematic understanding and good command of Marxism. In order to build a new world under the guidance of Marxism, apply and develop it in the great cause of China's modernization and use it to educate all the builders of socialism, it is all the more necessary that we make sustained efforts to critically assimilate new knowledge and the new achievements of modern science and culture.

"Knowledge is power."<sup>6</sup> It should be part of the fine qualities of us communists and all builders of the future to value knowledge, embrace it, thirst after it and turn it into immense power for building a new world.

A fallacy that prevailed during the "Cultural Revolution" was that "the more learned one becomes, the more reactionary he will be." It must be pointed out explicitly that human knowledge, that is, the knowledge of natural sciences, of production and technology, of history and geography, of different branches of modern social sciences studied under the guidance of Marxism and of operation and management as a reflection of the laws governing mass social production, as well as various other kinds of knowledge embodying the progress of mankind and the demands of progressive classes in history--all such knowledge contains truths accumulated by mankind in the long process of understanding and changing the world, is the product of its hard labor and can be a weapon to its fight for freedom. The more knowledge people acquire, the better able they will be to know the world and to change it. This is a sign of social progress. Even certain things which played an important role in history but are imbued with prejudices of the reactionary classes, should be critically analyzed by Marxists and whatever is useful in them can be assimilated. What really matters is the standpoint, views and methods people apply in regard to knowledge. In general, it is always better to have more knowledge than less, and it definitely must not be said that "the more learned one becomes, the more reactionary he will be."

When we state that Marxism is based on the fine cultural achievements of mankind, we naturally include natural sciences in that basis. It is particularly important to make this point clear today when we are concentrating on socialist modernization. Here I would like to stress the importance Marx and Engels attached to natural sciences, by delving deeply into the theories of mathematics and natural sciences and into a wealth of technical material and by applying the results of natural sciences, especially of the three great discoveries.<sup>7</sup> In the 19th century, they substantiated the theory that things in nature develop through interconnection and mutual transformation, thereby laying a solid foundation in natural sciences for the Marxist world outlook. Two works by Engels, "Dialectics of Nature" and "Anti-Duehring," give concentrated expression to the results of their studies in this area. Particularly noteworthy is Marx' famous thesis that science constitutes a productive force and has always played the role of a revolutionary motive force of history. Taking his stand with the proletariat

which represents the advanced productive forces, Marx highly valued the role of science and technology in propelling social development and vividly referred to certain epoch-making achievements in these fields as "revolutionists of a rather more dangerous character"<sup>8</sup> than some famous revolutionary persons of his time. When the techniques for generating electricity were still in an embryonic stage, he perceived discerningly that mankind would soon see the dawn of the epoch of electricity. When the world's first experimental electric transmission line was set up, Marx and Engels gave it the closest attention, foreseeing that in the future electricity would reach remote corners of the world and "become the most powerful lever in eliminating antithesis between town and country."<sup>9</sup> So Marx, while fighting for the overthrow of the old world, already paid great heed to developments in science and technology. Should not we, who today shoulder the great historical responsibility of building a new China, give science and technology still greater attention and all the more conscientiously study and master modern science and culture? There can be no doubt that once our hundreds of millions of working people, who have become masters of their country, are armed with Marxism and modern science and culture, they will become more powerful and dynamic productive forces and be able to perform world-shaking deeds.

/Second, it is imperative that we oppose the erroneous tendency of separating intellectuals from the working class, counterposing them to the workers and regarding them as an "alien force," that we confirm the correct concept of intellectuals as a part of the working class and that we strengthen a hundredfold the unity between workers and peasants on the one hand and intellectuals on the other./

We must respect and rely on the intellectuals as much as we respect and rely on the workers and peasants in the great cause of socialist construction. In the Marxist view, intellectuals do not constitute an independent class. Before the founding of new China, ours was a semicolonial and semi-feudal society. Although intellectuals were for the most part linked to the bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie in their social status, the overwhelming majority of them were at the same time oppressed by imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. Therefore a number joined the revolution directly, others sympathized with it and a great many cherished anti-imperialist and patriotic aspirations. Those reactionary intellectuals who did obdurately range themselves against the revolutionary people and served the ruling classes were of course a force alien to the proletariat. But they were very few in number. When our socialist society was built, the conditions of China's intellectuals underwent a fundamental change. The overwhelming majority of them coming over from the old society have been working energetically for socialism and have been educated in Marxism and tempered and tested over a long period since the founding of new China. Moreover, over 90 percent of our intellectuals today have been trained in the new society and, in their overwhelming majority, come from worker, peasant or intellectual families. Although major differences in their form of labor still exist between intellectuals on the one hand and workers and peasants on the other, this does not keep us from stating that in terms of their means of living and whom they serve, on the whole the intellectuals

in our country have definitely become a part of the working class. This change is a great achievement in the history of the Chinese revolution and in our socialist development.

In the new period of socialist modernization, intellectuals have a particularly important role to play. In the Marxist view and judging from the latest trend in the development of science and industry, essential differences between manual and mental labor will gradually diminish and eventually disappear, and there will be successive generations of new people in whom manual labor is integrated with mental labor on an ever higher level. But this is a long-range perspective and will not happen right away. In other words, for a fairly long time to come scientific and cultural knowledge and mental work will continue to be relatively concentrated among one section of the population--the intellectuals. Therefore, the intellectuals, who constitute the trained mental power indispensable to socialist modernization, are a valuable asset to our country. In our society we must create an atmosphere in which knowledge and intellectuals are valued, and we must take effective steps to improve their working and living conditions. This should be taken as "capital construction," and of the most essential kind at that. We should make it clear to our people at large that, generally speaking, in socialist society it is an essential condition for mental labor that people who engage in it, or who have attained a relatively high scientific and educational level, should receive more material remuneration than those who do manual labor or whose scientific and educational level is relatively low and, more importantly, that this will greatly contribute to the expansion of production and to the improvement of the material and cultural life of the people as a whole. At the same time, this will serve to encourage the working class and all other working people to become more educated and the children of workers and peasants to seek education and study science, thus swelling the ranks of the intellectuals. It is obvious that this policy conforms to the law of the development of socialism and to the immediate and long-term interests of the working class and the whole people and that it is a Marxist policy. Conversely, the previous erroneous "left" policy ran counter to the principles of Marxism and socialism.

When we speak of respect for knowledge and intellectuals, in no sense do we mean that manual labor and manual workers may be disdained or belittled. This is absolutely impermissible in our socialist society. Any type of labor, manual or mental, is great and glorious in itself so long as it benefits society. In China, more than 90 percent of our working people are engaged in different kinds of manual labor. In the final analysis, all our wealth is jointly produced by both manual and mental labor. Naturally, with progress in modernization, the fruits of mental labor will take on ever increasing prominence and the proportion of mental workers in the working population will gradually grow. However, this process will itself involve a steady improvement in the educational and scientific level of manual workers, a steady increase of the elements of mental labor in manual labor and a switch from manual to mental work by group after group of people according to society's needs. At the same time, the productive activities pursued with creativeness by the masses of workers and peasants,

particularly skilled veteran workers as well as dexterous artisans in the rural areas, constitute an inexhaustible source of scientific and technological progress. Any idea or practice that isolates mental from manual labor and pits one against the other is utterly wrong. In socialist society, intellectuals who hold workers and peasants in contempt and are divorced from them will find it hard to play their due role and will be corrected by society. It should furthermore be borne in mind that however high the technological level in production that may be reached in the future, the elements of manual labor can never be completely eliminated from man's labor, much less can technical and artistic handwork or heavy manual labor under special circumstances and in emergencies ever disappear. In this sense there will still be manual labor even ten thousand years from now. All in all, the distinction between manual and mental labor in socialist society is nothing more than a division of work and a difference in degree of complexity. In no way is one superior and noble and the other inferior and ignoble. I am making this point because now, as we lay emphasis on valuing knowledge and intellectuals, we must guard against the wrong tendency of disdain and belittling manual labor and also because in China, with its thousands of years of feudal history, the outworn concept of social hierarchy expressed in the saying "those who do mental labor rule and those who do manual labor are ruled" is deeply entrenched. Engels referred to the pernicious habit of disdain for labor as a poisoned sting left behind by the slave system.<sup>10</sup> We must at all times keep a watchful eye on this poisoned sting and see to its removal.

In saying that knowledge and intellectuals should be valued, we certainly do not imply that intellectuals are perfect in every way, or that they have no weaknesses to overcome. Our workers, peasants and intellectuals have each come, under specific historical circumstances, to possess certain strengths and weaknesses. Whether ideologically, professionally or in work performance, our intelligentsia taken as a whole cannot as yet fully meet the new and higher demands set by our socialist modernization drive. In the new period, we hope that while taking Marx and Engels, the most outstanding intellectuals, as shining models, inheriting and carrying forward the glorious traditions of revolutionary Chinese intellectuals since the May 4th Movement of 1919 and the December 9th Movement of 1935, and learning from the spirit of dedication of comrades like Peng Jiamu, Luan Fu, Jiang Zhuying, Luo Jianfu, Lei Yushun and Sun Yefang, our intellectuals will study Marxism more diligently, apply themselves more assiduously to the pursuit of new knowledge, go among the masses and dig into practical work, consciously strengthen their sense of organization and discipline and strive to transform their own subjective world and become both Red and expert in the course of the great struggle to transform the objective world. The experience of all advanced intellectuals has testified to the fact that none of them, not even highly prestigious specialists and scholars, can rest on their laurels in face of the rapid scientific and social progress, but have constantly to raise their ideological and professional levels. It has also proved that only when intellectuals identify themselves more closely with the workers and peasants and wholeheartedly serve the people can they put their talents to the best use, bring their initiative into full play and truly turn their knowledge into a mighty force for enhancing the people's well-being.

Ninety years ago, Engels wrote a letter to the International Congress of Socialist Students, expressing the ardent hope that from among them "the intellectual proletariat" would emerge. Taking their place in the same ranks as the manual workers, he added, such intellectuals could play a great role in revolution alongside their brothers, the manual workers.<sup>11</sup> Today, under the new historical conditions in China, Engels' hope is being realized on a countrywide scale. However, some people now say that "while number one has been shunted aside, number nine is soaring to the skies." [Here "number one" refers to the workers whereas "number nine" refers to the intellectuals because, during the "Cultural Revolution," they were placed ninth, after the landlords, the rich peasants, the counterrevolutionaries, the bad elements, the rightists, the renegates, the special agents, and the inveterate capitalist roaders.] It is not right to describe workers as "number one" and intellectuals as "number nine." As for the assertion that "number nine" is soaring to the skies, this is not true. We maintain that under the leadership of the party, workers, peasants and intellectuals join hands and work shoulder to shoulder so that they can all soar to the skies, the new skies of socialist modernization.

/Third, it is imperative that we oppose the erroneous tendency of divorcing party leadership from expert leadership or setting the former against the latter, that we implant the correct concept that all leading personnel must strive to be experts and that we ensure that our cadres become better educated and more professionally competent on the basis of becoming more revolutionary-minded./

That our socialist modernization needs knowledge and needs intellectuals is a guiding idea which must be embodied, first and foremost, in the reform of the leading organs at all levels and of all departments, so that our cadres will be younger, better educated and more professionally competent on the basis of becoming more revolutionary-minded. People may ask: Didn't we win our revolutionary wars even though the educational level of our cadres wasn't very high? True, due to the protracted rural guerrilla fighting, our party cadres lacked knowledge of modern science and culture during the war years. Even in those circumstances, however, our party laid great stress on the planned training of large numbers of cadres and troops. We ran many kinds of cadre schools in Yanan and other base areas and in the liberated areas. We studied diligently and conscientiously and acquired much knowledge about military, social, economic and cultural affairs urgently needed in the revolutionary wars, the building of revolutionary base areas and work in the Kuomintang areas. Thousands upon thousands of fine leaders were brought up at different levels from among the cadres of both worker-peasant and intellectual origin, and many of them became specialists in military affairs, agrarian reform, united front work, financial and economic affairs, propaganda, cultural and educational work, and so on. And the comrades forming the leading core of the Central Committee of the party that directed our entire struggle and the large numbers of outstanding party leaders all attained a high educational and theoretical level. They studied questions concerning the Chinese revolution comprehensively and profoundly and summed up the laws of development of Chinese society, thus evolving the set of systematic and scientific theories on the



Chinese revolution known as Mao Zedong Thought. History shows that, far from being uneducated and ignorant, the cadres of our party were intelligent and capable people who had a good command of the knowledge urgently needed in the revolutionary struggles of the time and were, therefore, able to vanquish the enemy. The situation today is radically different from that in the past. Socialist modernization, being an entirely new task, is much broader in scale and far more complex in nature, involving many more branches of learning than the tasks we faced before. Military work, too, has become more specialized. Under these circumstances, to rely merely on past knowledge and experience is far from adequate. It is a pressing necessity of the current struggle to master modern science, technology and culture. Is it not, then, entirely correct, necessary and in conformity with the requirements of historical development for us now to set the higher demands of training better educated and more professionally competent cadres?

Party leadership involves political, ideological and organizational leadership, leadership in matters of principle and policy, and inspection and supervision of work in various fields. It cannot--and should not--monopolize specific professional, technical and administrative work. This being so, what need is there for the party's leading cadres at all levels to become more professionally competent and turn into experts? In our socialist modernization drive today, correct political leadership means adhering to the four cardinal principles in all fields, integrating the party's principles and policies with the concrete practice and professional work of the given locality or department and mobilizing and organizing the positive factors in various quarters so as to effectively fulfill the tasks advanced by the party. To achieve this, it is imperative not only that the leading party cadres at all levels master the basics of general and scientific knowledge, but also that they acquire the professional knowledge needed by the particular work they lead, understand the actual conditions in the relevant professions and grasp their specific laws. Otherwise, their leadership will be nothing more than armchair politics, pointless and fruitless effort, or arbitrary direction. Our modernization program would get nowhere if we were to rely on such leadership. To lead, therefore, one must strive to be expert.

From the viewpoint of the theory of knowledge, we must correctly understand and handle the relationship between the general and the particular if we are properly to integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of our socialist modernization and properly integrate the party's principles and policies with concrete professional work in various fields. Marxism holds that the general and the particular are interrelated and that the former resides in the latter. Only with a deep understanding of the particular will it be possible to have a better grasp of the general; and an understanding of the general should be followed up with a continuous deepening of knowledge of the particular. Comrade Mao Zedong regarded this dialectical relationship between the general and the particular as part of the quintessence of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge and as an important principle of method of thinking and of leadership which we must always bear in mind. It will be very dangerous if our leading comrades

rest content with generalized "political leadership" without trying to gain a deep understanding of the particular and to acquire the professional knowledge necessary for effective leadership, or if they simply refuse to do so, thinking that it is perfectly normal for laymen to lead experts. For to act thus will be to negate outright the necessity for greater professional competence and to obstruct both the steady deepening of knowledge and the continuous improvement of leadership.

In fact, the question of making our party and government functionaries better educated and more professionally competent was raised as early as in the 1950's. At the first session of the party's Eighth National Congress held in September 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong stressed that, reflecting the course of development of the Chinese revolution, the composition of the Central Committee would change later to include many engineers and scientists. However, this question, along with that of lowering the average age of leading cadres at various levels, was not solved in good time. With the present organizational reform as a good start, the Central Committee of the party is determined to solve all these questions gradually in conjunction with one another and through the succession of new cadres to the old. They will be solved by the following methods: Large numbers of old cadres are mobilized to leave their posts and help and guide young and middle-aged cadres and pass on experience to them; many intellectuals who possess both political integrity and professional competence and are in the prime of life, are recruited into the leading bodies at all levels; and middle-aged cadres fairly experienced in leadership and having a fairly high level of political understanding but little schooling are warmly encouraged and helped to improve their level of education. These are strategic measures of far-reaching import for ensuring the incessant vigorous development of our party's cause.

Comrades and friends:

As we commemorate the centenary of the death of Karl Marx, we are happy to see that, in China today, the central task of the communist movement initiated by Marx and Engels has become the struggle to bring about a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and to turn the country into a modern, powerful socialist state with a high level of democracy and civilization. This grand and arduous task is one of the greatest creative undertakings in the history not only of the east but also of all mankind. Some of the major problems involved in accomplishing this task have never before been encountered by the world's Marxists and hence there is no precedent for solving them. This demands that we Chinese communists and cadres in all fields learn anew in the unfolding great struggle.

On the eve of the founding of our People's Republic, our party put forward the slogan of learning anew. In his article, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," Comrade Mao Zedong said emphatically: "The serious task of economic construction lies before us. We shall soon put aside some of the things we know well and be compelled to do things we don't know well. This means difficulties." He added: "We must overcome difficulties, we must learn what we do not know. We must learn to do economic work from all who

know how, no matter who they are." Facts have proved that our learning anew in that period ensured the success of our party's shift from fighting a revolutionary war to seizing state power and ensured the establishment and consolidation of our People's Republic. It is regrettable that we did not persevere in such study and, particularly, that we did not put before our leading cadres at all levels the specific task of systematically learning modern science and culture, and especially of acquiring varied professional knowledge--even less did we adopt any long-term and effective measures for that purpose. Faced with the task of socialist modernization in this new historical period, our party has now once again put forward the slogan of learning anew. This effort to learn anew--the second following the founding of our People's Republic--has two equally important aspects: One is to acquire a better grasp of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought on which the theory guiding our thinking and all our actions is based, and the other is to acquire a better grasp of various branches of social and natural sciences, modern technology and scientific operation and management. This effort, which will run through the whole process of China's four modernizations, must be organized in a planned and systematic way and persisted in for a long time. Together with the planned vigorous expansion of all our educational and cultural undertakings, it will mean a great, nationwide march toward the heights of science, involving hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals in all fields of endeavor.

At this commemorative meeting, as we put forward the task of learning anew we think naturally of the brilliant example Marx and Engels set for us in this respect. For more effective research in political economy, Marx, in his forties, reviewed his knowledge of algebra and learned calculus, an advanced branch of mathematics in his time; in addition, he made a point of attending lectures on technology. In the course of establishing the dialectical materialist outlook on nature, Engels determinedly embarked on a systematic study of mathematics and natural sciences when already past 50. Recalling this experience, Engels said: "I went through as complete as possible a 'moulting,' as Liebig calls it, in mathematics and natural sciences."<sup>12</sup> What was meant by this "moulting"? The famous 19th century German chemist Justus Liebig had said: "Chemistry is moving forward at an incredible speed, and chemists, wishing to keep up with it, are in a state of constant moulting. The first feathers, unsuitable for flight, fall out of the wings, but new ones grow in their stead and flight becomes more powerful and easier."<sup>13</sup> This refers to the precious enterprising spirit of scientists who strive constantly to update their knowledge, never cease in their research effort and dare to destroy the old and establish the new. Why can't the effort being made by us Chinese communists and people to learn anew be compared to moulting? China, with its 1 billion people, is like a giant roc whose "wings obscure the sky like clouds."<sup>14</sup> Once the old feathers unsuitable for flight fall out of the wings and new ones grow in their stead in the process of learning anew, our country is bound to soar to the skies more powerfully and with greater ease, flying over one peak after another toward its goal.

Comrades and friends:

A full century has elapsed since the death of Marx. For more than a hundred years, Marx' theory, at first a "specter" haunting Europe, has grown into a mighty force that has profoundly changed world history and will continue to do so. Since its birth, Marxism has been a compass guiding the world proletarians in their united struggle and guiding the oppressed nations of the world in their struggle for political and economic independence. At present, although there are many obstacles on their road of advance, both these forces are a thousand times more powerful than in Marx' time. Marxism also enables us scientifically to pinpoint the source of war and find the only way to eliminate it. Although today mankind is still faced with the menace of a massive war of aggression, we are convinced that through the common struggle of the working class, the oppressed nations and the whole progressive mankind, light will eventually triumph over darkness.

The great ideal of communism advanced by Marx and Engels inspires the world proletariat and all oppressed peoples and nations in their struggle for emancipation and inspires all progressive mankind in its struggle for a bright future. These struggles are converging into a worldwide, irresistible historical tide propelling social progress.

Marxism is immortal. Let the radiance of the great truth of Marxism forever light our way forward!

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See F. Engels' letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht of 14 March 1883, in Wilhelm Liebknecht, "Karl Marx--Biographical Memoirs," Eng. ed., Charles H. Kerr and Company Cooperative, Chicago, 1901, p 46.
2. See F. Engels, "Closing Speech Delivered at the International Congress of Socialist Workers," in "Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Collected Works," German ed., Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1963, Vol 22, p 408.
3. V. I. Lenin, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," "Collected Works," Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963, Vol 19, pp 23-24.
4. V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues," "Collected Works," Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, Vol 31, p 286.
5. See Jenny Marx, "Short Sketch of an Eventful Life," "Reminiscences of Marx and Engels," Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow.
6. See Francis Bacon, "Advancement of Learning and Novum Organum," The Colonial Press, 1900, p 315.
7. These refer to the discovery of the law of the conservation and conversion of energy, the discovery of the cell and the discovery of the evolution of living beings.

8. See Marx, "Speech at the Anniversary of the People's Paper," in "Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Collected Works," Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, Vol 14, p 655.
9. See "Engels to E. Bernstein, 27 February-1 March 1883," in "Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Collected Works," German ed., Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1967, Vol 35, p 445.
10. See F. Engels, "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1978, p 181.
11. See Engels, "To the International Congress of Socialist Students," in "Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Collected Works," German ed., Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1963, Vol 22, p 415.
12. F. Engels, "Prefaces to the Three Editions," "Anti-Duehring," Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, pp 15-16.
13. Ibid., note 12, p 449.
14. See Chapter I, "Transcendental Bliss," "Chuang Tzù," edited by H. A. Giles, Eng. ed., Kelly and Walsh Ltd., Shanghai, 1926, p 1.

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## MARXISM AND CHINA'S REALITIES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 83 pp 14-22

[Article by Hu Sheng [5170 4939]]

[Text] Over 60 years ago, Marxism spread to China and rapidly integrated itself with the workers' movement and other revolutionary movements. Armed with Marxism, the CPC appeared in its infancy with a new vitality unprecedented in China's ideological and political arenas.

At the time, the Chinese revolutionary movement for a bourgeois republic was at an impasse, with slim chances for success. Marxism and Russia's October Revolution broadened the horizons of the Chinese people (particularly the advanced elements among them), who gradually came to the conclusion that the future of the Chinese nation, like that of the oppressed people throughout the world, lay in socialism and communism.

The earliest Marxists in China believed that the country's problems could be solved simply by copying the methods of socialist revolution adopted by the Western proletariat. But before long, they came to see from their own experience that this would get them nowhere. In the giant Asian country of China, then already reduced to semicolonialism and semifeudalism, the target of the revolution was not the ordinary bourgeoisie, but imperialism, feudalism and the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie which ganged up with them. Moreover, the country's political and economic development was uneven and its capitalism undeveloped. While the ranks of the proletariat were not large, the peasantry had inexhaustible strength that could be called into action. Apart from the urban petty bourgeoisie which could be its ally, the proletariat could also find allies in other classes and social strata, particularly in its struggle against imperialism. Under these social and historical conditions, China had to take a unique road in developing the revolutionary movement up until it entered the stage of socialism.

In the past, China's Marxists had to oppose the view that there had been, since ancient time, no class and class struggle in China, that the development of modern Chinese society could not be explained from the viewpoint of class struggle and that the Marxist theories of historical materialism, class struggle and socialism were inapplicable to China due to its "special"

conditions. By making scientific analysis of China's realities, Marxists have proven that this theory of China being a special case is untenable.

However, China had its own characteristics in his historical development, which people must notice when reviewing Chinese history from the Marxist viewpoint and with Marxist methods. In order to rid the Chinese nation of the tragedy of semicolonialism and semifeudalism, China's Marxists have, through their own experience, deeply understood China's national conditions, independently applied the universal truth of Marxism and found a revolutionary road suited to China's conditions.

The national conditions of a country are not unchangeable. Revolution means transforming the old world into a new one. But people can achieve nothing by merely devising a plan for a new world in their minds. They must proceed from the realities of the old world and carry out the transformation according to the objective law of world development. This is the difference between the scientific socialism of Marxism and various kinds of utopian socialism. This also applies to national conditions. Only by proceeding from national conditions can people transform such backward conditions.

Generally speaking, Marxists of all countries must apply universal truth proceeding from their own national conditions. Specifically speaking, this is extremely important in China. The history of the development of Marxism in China is the history of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Only by properly handling this integration can Marxism take root in China, guide China's revolutionary cause correctly and thoroughly refute the fallacies that Marxism is inapplicable to China. On the contrary, if Marxism cannot be integrated with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, it will become an empty talk and make mistakes in guiding the Chinese revolution.

In 1930, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the slogan of "oppose book worship." This was the first time our party consciously called for opposing the tendency of treating Marxism as a dogma. "Book worship" meant deviation from China's realities, and copying isolated conclusions of Marxism and certain foreign patterns and formulae, that is, dogmatism. To oppose book worship, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The victory of the Chinese revolution depends on the understanding of the Chinese situation by Chinese comrades." ("Collected Writings of Mao Zedong on Rural Investigations")

The Marxist theory is neither a dogma, nor an immutable formula, but a guide to action. This is a view which Marx and Engels emphasized again and again. The young Marx once said: "A correct theory must be integrated with concrete conditions and be explained and elaborated according to current conditions." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 27, p 433) Comrade Mao Zedong's view on opposing book worship absolutely corresponded with the basic spirit of Marxism.

Because China was a semicolonial, semifeudal country, its revolution had to proceed in two steps: first achieving victory in the democratic revolution

and then starting the socialist revolution. China had special conditions, among other things, that the proletariat should, and could, win leadership over the democratic revolution; that the proletariat-led democratic revolution should take armed struggle as the major form supplemented with other forms of struggle; that the proletariat must establish rural revolutionary base areas, develop the peasant revolutionary war under its leadership and encircle the cities from the rural areas; and that the proletariat could form a united front with the bourgeoisie under certain conditions.

After experiencing many hardships and difficulties (including setbacks and defeats), the Chinese communists have completely mastered the law of the development of the Chinese revolution. The "left" adventurist mistake which inflicted heavy losses to the Chinese revolution in the early 1930's was due to the lack of understanding of the characteristics of China's semifeudal, semicolonial society, the concrete situation of all classes in China and particularly the fact that the Chinese bourgeoisie was divided into national bourgeoisie and comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie, and the characteristics of revolutionary wars led by the proletariat and with the peasants as the main force. They failed to use Marxism to guide the Chinese revolution proceeding from China's concrete conditions, but copied patterns and formulae from "books." These "formulae" may be of universal significance, but became useless due to their failure to integrate themselves with concrete conditions. Some formulae have been drawn from the experience of other countries and are therefore inapplicable to China.

The Chinese communists, with Comrade Mao Zedong as their representative, eliminated the "left" dogmatist mistakes of the 1930's both in practice and theory. Comrade Mao Zedong raised the criticism of dogmatism to a high plane of the theory of knowledge in the field of philosophy, saying: "Our dogmatists are lazy-bones. They refuse to undertake any painstaking study of concrete things, they regard general truths as emerging out of the void, they turn them into purely abstract unfathomable formulae...." and "The dogmatists...do not understand that different methods should be used to resolve different contradictions; on the contrary, they invariably adopt what they imagine to be an unalterable formula and arbitrarily apply it everywhere, which only causes setbacks to the revolution or makes a sorry mess of what was originally well done." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, pp 285-286)

The victory of the new democratic revolution in 1949 fully indicated that the road the Chinese people had taken under the leadership of the CPC was correct, and it was a Marxist road suited to China's special conditions and filled with Chinese characteristics.

Since the victory in 1949, China realized the transformation from new democracy to socialism in a short time, which once again showed the great strength of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. China's semifeudal, semicolonial era came to an end due to the victory of 1949, but we gave full consideration to many characteristics left over by the semifeudal and semicolonial society in taking methods and steps to carry out socialist transformation



of the private ownership of the means of production. Hence, the transformation was, on the whole, carried out smoothly.

Then, after the basic completion of socialist transformation of the private ownership of means of production, that is, after the basic establishment of the socialist system, did China still have its own characteristics in taking the road of social development? Apart from other factors, do the characteristics, if any, have anything to do with the fact that China was once a semifeudal, semicolonial society? This is an important problem concerning the success and failure of socialism in China.

Marx and Engels scientifically expounded that capitalist society will collapse due to its insoluble contradictions, and be replaced by socialist society. The historical mission of the proletariat is to gain ruling power through revolution and replace capitalist private ownership with socialist public ownership so as to realize the transition to the elimination of all classes and a classless society. Marx and Engels once predicted that the proletarian revolution would achieve victory in countries where capitalism has been fully developed, and in several countries simultaneously. They briefly pointed out the measures which the proletariat of the "most advanced countries" may take after seizing political power, and held that "these measures will vary from country to country." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 272) They did not say much about the specific structure of the future society and its process of development, merely giving exposition of principle. For example, when commenting on a debate in a German magazine on the distribution of products in future society in 1890, Engels said:

"It is strange that no one has thought that the form of distribution must, after all, depend on the quantity of products which can be distributed. As this quantity changes along with the progress of production and social organizations, the form of distribution will change as well. But, to all those who have taken part in the debate, 'socialist society' is not changing and progressing continuously, but something stable and immutable. Hence, it must have an immutable form of distribution. However, a reasonable debate can only be: 1) Try to find future forms of distribution which have been taken; and 2) try to find the general orientation for further development." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 37, p 432)

In 1875, Marx, in his "Critique of the Gotha Program," exhaustively elaborated the principles of distribution in socialist society, but he presented his argument within the scope of the "reasonable debate" of which Engels spoke. Moreover, he discussed this problem aimed at the Lassalle faction's empty talk, such as "fairly distribute what has been gained through labor" and "what is gained through labor should belong 100 percent to all social members on the basis of equal rights." To refute this empty talk, Marx, apart from raising some points, further pointed out that in a socialist society, it was necessary to practice the principle of exchange of equal labor in the distribution of means of consumption, that is, the "same principle which was current in equal exchanges of commodities," therefore, "equal rights here are still bourgeois rights according to

principles, which are unequal for different laborers." These may be considered "defects," but "they are unavoidable in the first stage of a communist society." What we can learn from this exposition is that we absolutely cannot consider problems from the abstract concept of equality and impartiality. It was impossible for Marx to specifically answer the question of the form of distribution in future society. As we have entered the socialist society, we, of course, cannot seek a proposal for resolving practical problems directly from Marx' exposition regardless of specific social and historical conditions, neither can we misunderstand Marx' remarks as something to call on us to eliminate these "defects" immediately. What Marx emphasized was that we cannot proceed from the abstract principle of impartiality. If we think that as there is impartiality, we must impose "restriction" to seek "impartiality"; this is not Marx' view, but Lassalle's.

All in all, Marx and Engels could only envisage some principles of socialist society and hold theoretical discussions on the starting point of future society and the general direction of further development. This applied to the problem of distribution as well as other ones. The specific law of development of socialist society in different countries has had to be probed since his death through practice.

After the October Revolution, the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin attempted to "carry out socialist principles in production and distribution in a direct, simple and rapid way." But his attempt suffered failure. Instead, they tried other means suited to the characteristics of Russia's social and historical conditions to achieve this purpose. Lenin also gave consideration to the fact that all nations go toward socialism and take different roads with their own characteristics. In addition, he gave consideration to the fact that colonies and backward countries might skip the capitalist stage and develop to socialism through a revolutionary stage. He believed that even after the "establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the whole world, the differences between all nations and countries will remain for a quite long time." It is, therefore, necessary, "while applying basic principles of communism (the soviet political power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) to various nations and countries, to correctly change these principles in specifics so as to adapt them to the situation." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 31, pp 73-74)

All these expositions of Lenin merit our serious attention. It is true that all nations and countries go toward socialism. But the "great harmony" is in the remote future. Not only do various countries have their own characteristics in taking socialist road, but also the process of development to socialist society may be the same or different in various countries, or the same on major issues but different on minor issues. For this reason, the problem of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism and the concrete practice of each specific country still exists in socialist construction. In a socialist country like China which has been developed from a semicolonial, semifeudal society through a special process, people must pay special attention to this.

In human history, a socialist society does not come out of the void. It is established on the basis of civilizations created by humanity down through the ages, particularly the civilization created by capitalism which is at a level far higher than any previous one. Capitalism created tremendous productive forces and, in correspondence with these forces, developed full-fledged education, culture, science and technology, economic management and so on. All these furnish the "building blocks" needed for socialism once the political power of a developed capitalist country falls into the hands of the proletariat and the socialist public ownership of the means of production is established. However, China was totally different. Its socialist society grew out of a semicolonial, semifeudal one where elements of capitalism existed but were undeveloped. It has never experienced the stage of developed capitalism, and the "legacy" it inherited from the old society contained virtually nothing of what a capitalist society could have offered.

For that reason, in building socialism China will inevitably encounter many special problems and difficulties in the economic, cultural and political arenas. We should therefore conscientiously solve these problems within the framework of the socialist system and learn everything necessary for socialism, which other nations have learned under the capitalist system. In taking our own socialist road, we should take this reality into consideration, just as we proceeded from the reality of China as a semicolonial, semifeudal society in carrying out the democratic revolution.

Some people may ask, since China has encountered special difficulties in socialist construction, why did China not experience a capitalist society before developing to socialist society? This question deserves to be answered. After China became a semicolonial, semifeudal society from a feudal society, if no victory of the new democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat had been won, China would have remained a semicolonial, semifeudal country or would have become a colony or dependency of an imperialist country. China's social and historical conditions (including international conditions) made it impossible for China to become an independent capitalist country. From the viewpoint of historical materialism, it is necessary first of all to point out that even if it were a "shortcut" to socialism through capitalism, China was in no position to take this road, and anyway, it is by no means a shortcut! To the broad masses of laboring people, it is a long and painful road to experience capitalism. Since the proletariat and laboring people can directly achieve the victory of socialism through new democracy under special historical conditions, how can they fear the difficulties of socialist construction so much that they choose the long and painful road?

As China did not develop into a capitalist society from a feudal society, in modern history, China not only became a backward country, but also was oppressed and bullied by all imperialist countries in the world. This is a historical tragedy. But after experiencing a semicolonial, semifeudal society for more than 100 years, it was historical luck that the Chinese people could, under the guidance of Marxism, take the socialist road despite many special difficulties they met and will meet in this road.

The absence of the stage of full-grown capitalism in our history has caused some special difficulties but, on the other hand, it has also had some advantages. Tempered in the long years of national suffering and revolutionary struggle, the Chinese people have fostered the outstanding tradition of unity and hard struggle under the banner of patriotism.

The Chinese working class has rarely been influenced by social reformism and "labor aristocracy," which appeared in capitalist countries but has never appeared in our country. In the long years of revolutionary wars, the land reform and the cooperative movement, our peasants established a close alliance with the working class and had great confidence in the leadership of the Communist Party. Our intellectuals from the old society are, generally speaking, imbued with strong patriotism although they received bourgeois education. Their experiences in the old and new societies have convinced them that only the socialist system can make China prosperous and powerful. After the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production was undertaken by the peaceful "buying out" policy, the majority of the Chinese bourgeoisie consciously remolded themselves into laborers earning a living by their own sweat and were willing to contribute their experiences and abilities to the socialist motherland. Similar changes took place among other members of the upper strata of the old society.

These and other phenomena provide favorable conditions for building socialism. Fully utilizing these conditions will, of course, help overcome our weaknesses; but if we pay no attention to overcoming our weaknesses, we will not be able to fully tap our strengths.

Generally speaking, building socialism is an arduous task. Since entering socialism, China has had to face problems which will not happen to developed capitalist countries when they change over to socialist society (these countries, in turn, will have problems we do not have). What are our special problems? For example, the socialized production in our society as a whole, especially the vast countryside, remains at a fairly low level and the commodity economy is underdeveloped; there is still much illiteracy, national education is not yet universal and our educational facilities are scanty; our science and technology are backward and we have too few intellectuals and even fewer highly qualified intellectuals; and we lack experience in running large-scale production and commerce, which sometimes results in poor management.

Politically, the bourgeois democratic system has never appeared in China. Based on the exploitation of labor by capital, bourgeois democracy and its legal system are but a deception to the broad masses of laboring people. While exposing the true nature of the bourgeois democratic system, Marxists have all along pointed out that the replacement of the feudal system by the capitalist system is a progress of important significance in the history of mankind. True, a socialist society cannot inherit all the "legacy" of the political system of a capitalist society as it can the socialized mass production and various cultural and educational institutions (the "legacies" in these latter fields can be used almost instantly by a socialist society),

but whether or not a nation has the experience of bourgeois democracy and bourgeois legal system has a bearing on the building of socialist democracy. We have no experience in this aspect. What we have is only a democratic tradition established within a revolutionary army and revolutionary base areas through protracted revolutionary struggle. This experience is, of course, very valuable, but as far as the whole society is concerned, we must proceed from clearing away the ruins of the superstructure of the feudal system to build socialist democracy and the socialist legal system.

After the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production in China, the Eighth CPC Congress pointed out in August 1956 that the main task of the Chinese people in the future was to concentrate their efforts on developing social productive forces, achieving national industrialization and gradually meeting the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of the people. This policy was based on the reality that a socialist system had already been established, but social productive forces were still at a low level. When a country (except for those most developed ones) changes from a capitalist society to a socialist society, its social productive forces may be backward as compared with other countries. But it is not merely a comparison between China and foreign countries that we say China's social productive forces are backward. The existing social productive forces are inadequate to consolidate and develop the socialist system which has already been established. This situation is a result of China's special historical conditions. Generally speaking, it is impossible for a socialist system to be sound and perfect when it is newly established, and it is even less possible when social productive forces are still at a low level. Therefore, while developing social productive forces, we must continue to perfect socialist relations of production and socialist superstructure in accordance with China's national conditions. The Eighth CPC Congress did not comprehensively elaborate on all problems, but it was correct in treating the development of social productive forces as the central task.

The socialist system has indeed brought about an unprecedented growth in China's social productive forces. In summing up the achievements of the 32 years since the establishment of the PRC, the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," adopted by the CPC Central Committee in June 1981, pointed out: "We have scored signal success in industrial construction and have gradually set up an independent and fairly comprehensive industrial base and economic system." "The conditions prevailing in agricultural production have undergone a remarkable change, giving rise to big increases in production." "There has been a substantial growth in urban and rural commerce and in foreign trade." "Considerable progress has been made in education, science, culture, public health and physical culture." All these things point to the fact that the economic and cultural situation in China today has undergone tremendous changes from what it was in the early postliberation days or when the socialist transformation had just been completed. Although our socialist construction has traversed a tortuous road and suffered many setbacks due to "left" mistakes, our achievements are undeniable.

The "left" mistakes committed by our party in socialist construction culminated in the launching of the "Cultural Revolution" which continued for a long time and affected the overall situation. These, of course, were due to complex social and historical factors which were profoundly analyzed and expounded in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." One of the major lessons that we must draw from our "left" mistakes is that if one ignores China's actual conditions and becomes dogmatic about certain "formulae" (which, more often than not, are derived from one-sided interpretation of Marxism), then one cannot correctly guide the revolution and socialist construction.

There are also many things we have to learn and a good deal of complicated work we have to accomplish. All this will take a long time. We will commit gross errors if we fail to take note of this and expect to quickly fulfill the tasks of the socialist period and move on to communism, or even believe that every problem can be solved by one or two mass movements.

The contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and the contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base still exist in a socialist society. This is unmistakably correct. Bearing this factor in mind is of great significance to our investigation into the laws of the development of socialist society. But this is, after all, one of the general laws. If we fail to proceed from China's actual conditions, we will never pinpoint what needs to be reformed in the superstructure or the relations of production. If we undertake a "reform" according to such abstract concepts as "the bigger the size, the higher the level of the public ownership, the better," then inevitably we will see more practices like everyone eating from the "same big pot" which hinders the development of productive forces. The formula of "a revolution in which one class overthrows the other" applies to a society in human history based on class exploitation; using it in a socialist society which has abolished the system of exploitation of man by man can only scuttle the socialist superstructure and the relations of production.

"Socialism should fight the bourgeoisie" was regarded as the soul of the so-called "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." This formula neither distinguishes the period of transition to socialism from the period in which the socialist system has been established, nor makes a specific analysis of things that could seemingly be labelled bourgeois but even slaps this label on people indiscriminately--we have all seen the disastrous results of abusing this label. It goes without saying that during the socialist period it is necessary to combat decadent bourgeois forces which seek to undermine socialism. However, in our socialist endeavors we should learn all useful things produced under the capitalist system. Some of these (such as natural sciences and technology) have no class nature. Some (such as the management system for large-scale production) bear class hallmarks but should still be carefully distinguished and analyzed so we can absorb and remold them; this is of special significance under China's historical conditions.

In a capitalist society commodity production grows at a level higher than any previous societies, but according to an assumption by Marx and Engels, it will be liquidated in future societies. In China, however, commodity production, rather than being fully developed, remains weak and small. If we equate commodity production with capitalism regardless of China's reality and if we regard the assumptions of the creators of Marxism as a formula that can be applied arbitrarily, then the development of our socialist production will be impeded.

"Down with bourgeois reactionary academic authorities" is by no means a Marxist slogan. Its mistake obviously lies in the fact that those who had been overthrown and disgraced were not "bourgeois" authorities, just as those who had been labelled as "capitalist roaders" were not capitalists. But imagine, if there is an academic authority who adheres to the bourgeois world outlook, how should the proletariat deal with him? It should, while guarding against the adverse effects produced by his world outlook and taking proper measures to help him remold his world outlook, seriously learn from him his academic knowledge or critically absorb it. Since he is an authority, why not learn from him? It is all right to launch revolutionary mass movements to overthrow bourgeois reactionary rule, but under no circumstances is it permissible or possible to use the same method to overthrow "academic authorities." Giving consideration to the fact that there are not too many intellectuals and academic authorities in China, but too few of them, we think this slogan is absolutely preposterous.

The public ownership of the means of production, the principle of distribution "to each according to his work" as well as the planned and proportionate development of the national economy represent only the general laws of the socialist system. If we rely solely on these general laws but fail to integrate them with our concrete conditions, we will accomplish nothing. If we design a "pure" and "perfect" socialism according to these laws and become obsessed with such abstract concepts as "purity" and "perfectness," we can get nothing but guiding principles that are estranged from reality and spoil things that could have been done well. During the "Cultural Revolution," China's situation was wrongly assessed and it was believed that bourgeois reactionary forces were ubiquitous and, worse still, the wrong conclusion was made that the status quo could be changed and a "purest" and "most perfect" socialist society established with one or two thrusts of the mass struggle. All these, needless to say, are utopian ideas which bring nothing good but only harm.

In 1877, Marx mentioned in a letter that the German party was influenced by some people, saying:

"These people want to bring about a 'more complete and ideal' change to socialism, that is, to replace its foundation of materialism with modern myth of a goddess of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity."

Therefore, he sighed with regret:

"For several decades, we have expended much labor and efforts to rid the German working class of utopian socialism and an illusion about the structure of future societies so as to make them superior to French and British working class in theory (also in practice). But now these things are once again becoming prevalent." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 34, p 281)

The "left" mistakes we are talking about here also worship some "goddesses." "Bourgeois goddesses of liberty, equality and fraternity" are contrary to "socialist goddesses" of "revolution," "purity" and "impartiality" in form. But they all make socialism lose its foundation of materialism in fact.

Comrade Mao Zedong made monumental achievements in his decade-long efforts to base the Chinese revolution theoretically on materialism. Mao Zedong Thought, which applies universal Marxist principles to the concrete historical conditions of China and which sums up the creative experiences of the practice of the Chinese revolution, is the crystallization of the Chinese communists' collective wisdom, but Comrade Mao played an exceptionally important role in its formation. Long periods of practice showed that he was a great Marxist ready at all times to break new ground. In his later years, however, he depended too heavily on practical experiences gained in the past protracted revolutionary struggle while paying inadequate attention to conscientiously studying the new situation and new problems arising after China had entered the socialist period. As a result, he gradually departed from the principle of combining theory with practice. Because he had deviated from the principle that he had always advocated, when he was blazing a new trail for socialism, he was actually bound hand and foot by a number of abstract concepts and formulae which were divorced from reality. This serves as a profound lesson for future generations.

To correct the "left" mistakes and lead China's socialist construction on to a correct road, it is necessary to restore the tradition of Mao Zedong Thought, that is, the tradition of combining universal Marxist principles with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. It is necessary to resolutely safeguard the materialist foundation of socialism and at the same time dare to creatively use Marxism to solve China's problems.

This was precisely what the party did at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee held in December 1978. Since then, the party has in its guidelines gradually fulfilled the arduous task of correcting past wrongs in all fields of endeavor; party and state principles and policies have scored remarkable achievements, bringing about an unprecedentedly excellent situation in the economic, political and cultural fields.

The party and the state have resolutely shifted the emphasis of their work to socialist economic construction, which is not merely a return to the principles and policies laid down at the Eighth CPC Congress in 1956. Our experiences over the past 30-odd years have brought home to us that in socialist revolution and construction, we should, rather than being dogmatic about what is called universal formulae, use the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to understand the reality of China and that we should formulate our principles, policies and measures on this basis.



It is necessary to refer to the experiences of other countries, but on no account should we simply pattern ourselves after them. Both in understanding and practice of socialist construction, our party has become far more mature than at any time since the founding of the PRC.

China's current conditions are vastly different from what they were in 1956, the year the socialist system was established. The socialist system has endured severe tests in the last 30 years and has struck solid roots on the vast territory of China. Our socialist construction has been crowned with tremendous successes, and the mental outlook of the workers, peasants and intellectuals has undergone enormous changes. These are China's basic conditions, which we should bear in mind in all our endeavors.

Both the achievements we have made and the changes that have taken place in the course of building socialism deserve our earnest analysis and study, but due attention should also be paid to our difficulties and weaknesses resulting from the fact that our socialist society evolved from a semicolonial, semifeudal society and that China has not undergone the period of full-fledged capitalism. There are other factors that should not be neglected in studying the concrete conditions of China: the huge population in sharp contrast to the limited arable land, rich natural resources most of which have still to be tapped, and so on.

In the rural areas, we have adopted various forms of the responsibility system which bases remuneration on output and contract production tasks along specialized lines. This has vigorously developed sideline occupations and other diverse economic undertaking and has expanded commodity production and exchange. In the economic fields, we have carried out structural reforms centered on improving economic results, and in particular, we have restructured the management system. We have made education and science our major strategic focuses in developing the economy and are striving to maximize the role of intellectuals and to train as many new intellectuals as possible. We have strengthened socialist democracy and improved the socialist legal system. On the basis of self-reliance, we have developed economic cooperation and technical exchanges with foreign countries. All these and other efforts are conducive to developing the current socialist system and our achievements in socialist construction; they also help us to overcome weaknesses that resulted from the absence of a capitalist period in China's history.

We can certainly overcome the special difficulties caused by social and historical conditions and build socialism in a distinctive Chinese way provided that we can comprehensively study and understand our nation's specific conditions and, in the light of these conditions, use the universal Marxist principles to construct our socialist material and spiritual civilization.

Some 30-odd years have passed since China broke away from a semifeudal, semicolonial society. We have now considerably raised our economic and cultural level, but are still backward as compared with those developed capitalist countries. Should we feel discouraged and think that the

socialist system and Marxism are ineffective? Of course not. Those who are discouraged absolutely do not know that we are destined by historical conditions to complete under the socialist system the process of economic and cultural development which other countries completed under the capitalist system. Thirty years are but a short time in history. Western capitalist countries have reached the present level of modernization after making efforts for 200-300 years. Relying on the integration of Marxism and China's reality and socialist system, we are not only able to complete the process without the cost of the vast number of laboring people being oppressed under the system of exploitation, but also we are able, on the whole, to complete it in a shorter time. This is what we are now endeavoring to complete, and provided we make great efforts, we can complete it.

Since the Third Plenary Session we have scientifically summed up both positive and negative experiences over the past 30-odd years and have taken on a road in socialist construction suited to China's conditions. We are now fighting for the creation of a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization in accordance with the program put forward by the 12th CPC Congress. This road must, of course, be further enriched and perfected in practice. In the democratic revolution, we took a Marxist road with our own characteristics according to China's concrete historical conditions, further developing Marxism. Likewise, we will also take a Marxist road with our own characteristics in socialist construction, thus successfully building socialism in a distinctive Chinese way.

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## MARXISM AND CHINA'S SOCIALIST ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

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[Article by You Lin [2589 2651]]

[Text] A full century has elapsed since the death of Marx. It has been a century in which Marxist theory and the revolutionary cause, founded and initiated by Marx, was constantly developing and achieving victories. The wide dissemination of Marxism, which has reaped rich fruits in China, is a major event of its development. Under the guidance of Marxism, the Chinese people, led by the CPC, overthrew the three big mountains that had lain like a dead weight on their backs. This was followed by the basic accomplishment of socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, and economic construction carried out on a grand scale. All these are victories of Marxism achieved in China.

Marxism provides us with the basic viewpoint and method in observing and handling problems. In order to give full play to the role of Marxism in revolution and construction, it is essential to combine it with the actual condition of our country. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "To integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of China, blaze a path of our own, and build socialism with Chinese characteristics--this is the basic conclusion we have reached in summing up long, historical experience." During the early period of socialist construction, it was because we lacked experience that we mechanically copied and applied foreign experience and models which did not suit the condition of China. In April 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong issued his speech entitled "On the 10 Great Relationships," in which he initially summed up the experience of building socialism in China, and put forward the task of seeking a way of building socialism which suited the national condition of our country. However, this task was not appropriately accomplished. The various important meetings held since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, particularly the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the 12th CPC Congress, made a basic conclusion on this matter. In carrying out socialist economic construction in the days to come, this conclusion will be greatly significant in enabling us to successfully surge ahead on the path guided by Marxism.

## Economic Construction Should Be Placed on the Chief Position

According to Marxist viewpoint, in the final analysis, the political revolution of transforming the superstructure and the social revolution of transforming the relations of production carried out by the people are for the emancipation of production forces. Therefore, after the proletariat has gained political power and basically accomplished the task of suppressing the resistance of exploiters, it should place the development of production in an important position. In the "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels clearly pointed out: After seizing political power, "the proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie; to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, that is, of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase all productive forces as rapidly as possible." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 489) Only in this way can the material basis needed for consolidating the new system be more solid; can the goods and materials needed for improving the standard of living of the broad masses of laborers be more abundant; can the high labor productivity needed for triumphing over the old system be raised to a higher level; and the strength of national defense needed for resisting the aggression and subversion of foreign enemies be more strong. Precisely for this reason, Lenin drew the following thesis: "After its seizure of political power, the principal and fundamental interest of the proletariat lies in securing an enormous increase in the productive forces of society and in the output of manufactured goods." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 159)

At first, after the founding of the PRC, our party appropriately handled the relationship between economic construction and the work in other aspects. Even under the condition of confronting the formidable task of resisting the aggression of the U.S. imperialists and checking runaway inflation caused by the KMT reactionaries, our party kept on practicing the policy of resisting, stabilizing and reconstructing at the same time, and carrying out necessary economic construction, which not only assured victory in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, and market stabilization, but also resumed and developed industrial and agricultural production. After the basic accomplishment of socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, our party convened its eighth congress. The congress made a scientific analysis on the main contradiction of China's society and pointed out that the chief contradiction within the country was no longer the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, but that between the people's demand for a rapid development of economy and culture, and the situation of the present economy and culture not being able to satisfy the demands of the people. Therefore, the main task for the people of the whole country was no longer to destroy the old economic system, but to concentrate their efforts on developing social productive forces, realizing national industrialization and gradually satisfying the daily increasing material and cultural needs of the people.

Although class struggle still existed at that time and it was necessary to strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship, the fundamental task was to protect and develop productive forces under the new relations of

production. After the congress, our party led the people of all nationalities throughout the country in carrying out all-round economic construction on a grand scale, and made great achievements. It was a pity that we did not consistently carry it forward. Over a long period of time, class struggle was stressed to an inappropriate extent and we launched too many sometimes erroneous political movements. Up to the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution," we completely deviated from the correct line of the Eighth CPC Congress, "took class struggle as the key link" and instigated the so-called "continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" of one class overthrowing the other, which seriously undermined production. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, which was of great historical significance, started to comprehensively and earnestly correct the mistakes of the "left" deviation committed during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution" and formulated the strategic policy of shifting the focus of work on to building socialist modernization. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee further stipulated that this focus should never be altered except when large-scale foreign intrusion takes place in the future (even if at that time it would be necessary to carry out possible economic construction needed for the wars). It was pointed out in the 12th CPC Congress that, of the various tasks for bringing about an all-round new situation, the most important one was to push forward the socialist modernization of China's economy. The 12th CPC Congress also formulated the strategic objective, priorities and steps for the economic construction of our country, as well as a series of correct principles in a spirit of realism. This is a practical guarantee for all our work to be closely centered on the focus of economic construction in the future.

Theoretically, one of the important reasons why we repeatedly committed mistakes by deviating from this focus is that we neglected the decisive role of the productive forces. We emphasized that relations of production could energetically give impetus to the development of productive forces. This is certainly correct. But we were not actually aware that only when relations of production suit the condition of productive forces can it play such a role. If relations of production deviate from the condition of productive forces, it will not be able to promote the development of productive forces. On the contrary, it will hamper their development. We have emphasized that socialist public ownership has opened up wide prospects for the development of productive forces, and this is also undoubtedly correct. However, in spite of reality, we regarded the greater range and extent of public ownership as better, and spent great efforts in frequently changing the relations of production that were just set up, which hindered them from giving full play to the role of promoting productive forces in a relatively stable situation. As a result, not only was the normal development of productive forces affected, but also the relations of production and even certain aspects and links of the superstructure which were not suited to the developing demands of productive forces. Fundamentally speaking, the purpose for carrying out various reforms, including the reform of leadership bodies and the economic structure, is that relations of production and the superstructure will further conform to the current situation of productive forces and give full play to its role in promoting productive forces.

## Consideration Must Be Given to Both Economic Construction and People's Livelihood

Under a socialist system, it is necessary and also possible to give consideration to both economic construction and the people's livelihood, this is determined by the nature of the socialist system. In explaining the situation when society has occupied the entire means of production, Engels said: "Through social production, it is not only possible to assure an ample and daily abundant material life for all social members, but also to ensure that their physical power and intelligence be fully and freely applied and developed." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 307) At this stage, the purpose of production and all other economic activities should be to satisfy the material and cultural demands of social members, so that production, construction and other economic activities are carried out for this purpose. Provided economic construction develops, it will have further favorable factors to satisfy the people's demands; in turn, the more people are satisfied, the higher their labor enthusiasm will be and the more they will offer to society for carrying out economic construction. It is certain that there is also a contradiction between the two. This is mainly indicated in the distribution of national income, which is used more for construction but less for satisfying the people's demands and vice versa. Therefore, we must seek a proportion which relatively confirms to objective laws, and appropriately handle the relations between the two.

For the past 30 years or so, we did not properly handle the relations between economic construction and people's livelihood on many occasions. We seldom laid particular stress on improving the people's livelihood, but one-sidedly emphasized the development of economic construction. One of the important reasons why we committed such mistakes is that we separated economic construction from the people's livelihood and intended to do construction well first, and then to improve the people's livelihood. Now, it is quite obvious that such an idea was wrong. We forgot that constantly improving the people's livelihood was the necessary condition for encouraging their labor enthusiasm. If we let the people "tighten their belts" and "struggle hard," how then can their enthusiasm be maintained? Therefore, the correct way should be to gradually improve the people's livelihood while we ensure the gradual expansion of the scale of state construction. Long ago, our party defined this as an important principle. In 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong criticized the method of giving consideration only to economic construction and not to the people's livelihood. However, due to the increasing development of the "leftist" guiding ideology, which persisted in seeking "large scale" and "high speed," we did not adhere to the correct principle, but went astray. It was not until the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee that the correct principle was restored.

While correcting the mistake of neglecting the improvement of people's livelihood, we also paid attention to preventing another erroneous trend, that is, the method of infringing upon necessary construction to seek improvement of livelihood. By consuming all the national income without retaining any accumulation and grudgingly maintaining production at its former level, it may seem that the people's livelihood is markedly improved

in a given year, but it would be difficult to maintain such a state in the next or following few years.

What is the basic principle for handling the relationship between economic construction and improving people's livelihood? It is as Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "First, feed the people and second, build the country," which in concrete words would be: "Only when it is assured that we have enough to eat can the state have the strength to carry out construction. Therefore, we cannot be fed too badly or too well. If we are fed too much, we will have no strength to carry out construction." In order to give consideration to both economic construction and people's livelihood, we must follow Comrade Zhou Enlai's instruction, made in his report "On the Proposals for the Second Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy" at the Eighth CPC Congress, that we must "appropriately arrange the relations between accumulation and consumption in the national income and gradually improve the people's livelihood while we ensure the gradual expansion of the scale of state construction."

Give Priority to the Development of Heavy Industry and Coordinatedly Develop Agriculture, Light and Heavy Industry

From the very beginning, heavy industry has been clearly affirmed as the core of economic construction in China. This is not only the objective demand of economic development, but also conforms to the Marxist principle of reproduction. As everyone knows, China was a semicolonial and semi-feudal country in the past. Its economy was rather backward due to the destruction caused by long periods of war. The main indication of our backward economy was the extreme weakness of heavy industry, the rather low output of iron, steel, coal and generated energy, and the incapability of manufacturing many important products, such as airplanes, trucks, tractors and so on. This situation has been fundamentally changed after 30-odd years of construction. We have set up an independent and rather integrated industrial system, and the industrial fixed assets of 1980 have increased by 2,600 percent over 1952. Supported by heavy industry, there has been a considerable development in light industry and the production condition of rural areas has markedly changed and its production level has been highly raised. If we had not regarded heavy industry as the core of economic construction, we could not have equipped light industry and agriculture with advanced technology and scored great achievements in such a short period of time.

Does giving priority to the development of industry conform to the Marxist principle of reproduction? When Lenin expounded Marx' theory on attaining the conditions of expansion of reproduction, according to the relevant expositions of Marx, he put technical progress into formulas and drew conclusions by analyzing the scheme in detail. He pointed out: "We thus see that growth in the production of means of production as means of production is the most rapid, then comes the production of means of production as means of consumption, and the slowest rate of growth is in the production of means of consumption." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 71) Under the condition of technical progress, it is an inexorable law of expansion of

reproduction to give priority increase to the production of means of production. It is precisely because we have conscientiously applied this law that we gave priority to the development of heavy industry.

How then can we explain the phenomenon of serious imbalance in the relations of proportion between the two departments which occurred on several occasions in the economy of China? We should say that the emergence of such a phenomenon is not because we have persisted in the principle of giving priority increase to the production of means of production as said by some comrades, but because, under the guidance of the "leftist" principle, we isolated this principle, which separated it from another principle, that is, the coordinated development of the two departments. According to the law of simple reproduction revealed by Marx, the sum of the variable capital and surplus value in department I must be equal to the constant capital in department II, which is indicated as  $I(v + m) = IIc$  in formula. Under the condition of expansion of reproduction, this can also not be ignored. Marx pointed out that the condition for realizing the expansion of reproduction is: The variable capital plus surplus value in department I should be greater than the constant capital in department II, which is indicated as  $I(v + m) > IIc$  in the formula. However, we cannot look on this issue from a metaphysical point of view, as if  $v + m$  in department I can be willfully enlarged over  $c$  in department II. Our party has a clear understanding toward this matter. Early in 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The emphasis in our country's construction is on heavy industry. The production of the means of production must be given priority, that's settled. But it definitely does not follow that the production of the means of subsistence, especially grain, can be neglected. Without enough food and other daily necessities, it would be impossible to provide for the workers in the first place, and then what sense would it make to talk about developing heavy industry? Therefore, the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other must be properly handled." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 268) And in 1957 he further said: "It must be affirmed that heavy industry is the core of China's economic construction. At the same time, full attention must be paid to the development of agriculture and light industry." (ibid., p 400) Later on, he also pointed out that agriculture should be the basis of the national economy and the national economic plan should be arranged in the sequence agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. Our party also clearly pointed out that agriculture has great binding force on the scale of economic construction. Fundamentally speaking, the developing speed of industry and the entire national economy depends on the developing speed of agriculture. However, these viewpoints, which conformed to Marxist theory of reproduction, were not implemented all along, because we one-sidedly emphasized the development of heavy industry for a long time, which consequently caused our agriculture and light industry to be relatively backward.

We should say that it is no easy thing to maintain the coordinated development of two departments and also to maintain the priority increase of the production of means of production. But historical facts have proved that, provided we integrate the two and do not lay stress on either aspect, it can be achieved through making a well-conceived plan and conducting work with



meticulous care. During the First Five-Year Plan, while persisting in giving priority to the development of heavy industry, we also correspondingly developed agriculture and light industry. Within the 5 years, the annual increasing speed of the total output value of industry and agriculture was at an average of 10.9 percent, of which the annual increasing speed of the total output value of heavy industry was at an average of 25.4 percent, agriculture 4.5 percent and light industry 12.9 percent. The development of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry was basically well-coordinated. In the early 1960's and through readjustment after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the fact that the national economy of our country was again moving on the normal developing track has also proved this point. All this shows that under the condition of practicing planned economy on the basis of public ownership, it is possible to consciously follow the law of giving priority to the increase of production of the means of production and to ensure that the means of production demanded by the two departments can be obtained in due course, so as to successfully carry out the expansion of reproduction; and at the same time, consciously ensure that the production of means of consumption will be suited to the development of the production of means of production according to the law of coordinated development of the two departments, and that it will play the role of giving impetus to the development of the production of means of production.

#### Correctly Handle the Relationship Between Simple Reproduction and Expansion of Reproduction

In order to build our country into a modernized and strong socialist country and further satisfy the needs of the people, it is essential to constantly expand the scale of production. For the sake of expanding the scale of production, we must carry out capital construction. It is particularly true in a country like ours, which had an extremely backward economy before liberation and was rather weak in modern industry, that only by setting up more modernized enterprises can we shift the entire national economy on to the basis of advanced technology. However, we know from the reproduction theory of Marx that simple reproduction must be the basis for the expansion of reproduction. Marx pointed out: "The material basis of expansion of reproduction is produced from within simple reproduction," therefore, "the greater the total amount of capital, that has carried out its function (surplus products are produced by carrying out its function), the greater the amount of surplus products transformed into latent money-capital." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 24, pp 560, 562) Only when simple reproduction has normally developed can the scale of reproduction be constantly expanded. If we tend to shrink simple reproduction for the purpose of increasing new production capability, it would mean taking drastic measures toward the next cycle of reproduction and destroying the basis for its expansion. Therefore, it is necessary to ensure that the scale of production is expanded on the basis of normal development of simple reproduction and not at the expense of simple reproduction. After summing up the positive and negative experience of economic construction in China, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out that we must adhere to making production first and capital construction second. This is the basic principle for correctly

handling the relationship between simple reproduction and expansion of reproduction.

Was this principle appropriately implemented in the 30-odd years of construction and practice in China? No, it was not. We were frequently impatient for success and in spite of the development of simple reproduction, we made great efforts in doing things on a large scale. We excessively used fuel, power, raw material and so on in capital construction, which not only squeezed out simple reproduction but also people's consumption. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: The scale of construction should be suited to our national strength. It is obviously beyond our national strength if we carry out capital construction by squeezing out the social commodities which should be used in the compensation for the means of production consumed and for maintaining the reproduction of manpower. As a result, many enterprises could not start work due to the shortage of power and raw materials and some enterprises were even in a state of stagnation or half stagnation; on the other hand, the equipment of many enterprises was not renewed for a long time because a large amount of the depreciation funds were applied to capital construction, which seriously affected technical progress. Due to the shortage of the necessary materials, the construction period of those projects was prolonged and production capability was not maintained, which caused great waste. In the imbalance of proportion which occurred twice in the economy of China, there existed the problem of the scale of capital construction being too large. Therefore, curtailing the scale of capital construction should be the key for readjusting the economy. Facts have evidently proved that whether we adhere to the principle of production first and capital construction second, that is, ensure that the scale of expansion of production is based on the normal development of simple reproduction, has an important bearing on whether our socialist economy can be successfully developed.

#### Take Achieving Better Economic Results as the Core

In order to attain the aim of socialist production and construction, it is necessary for all our economic activities to be centered on achieving better economic results. The planned development of the national economy enables us to achieve this aim. As Comrade Zhao Zhiyang said: "We must use the least possible labor and material consumption to produce more commodities that accord with social demands. This is precisely the demand of the basic economic law of socialism and the demand of the planned and proportional developmental law of the national economy. It is imperative for a socialist country to appropriately study and constantly satisfy the needs of society. This is also the purpose of our communists. We must firmly establish this guiding ideology. In doing economic work, the whole party should concentrate its efforts to economize labor and material consumption, accord with social demands and strive to blaze a new trail in achieving better economic results."

However, for a long time in both our production and construction, in spite of economic results, there existed the phenomenon of seeking value and output. Consequently, either the quality of the commodities produced was

inferior or too many resources were consumed or the goods were unmarketable. Whatever situation it may have been, it caused a great loss to the state and people. It is now a common task for all departments, localities and enterprises to achieve better economic results and all their economic activities should be centered on this common task. Because only when they have laid stress on this aspect can the economic results of the whole country be assured. However, better or worse economic results cannot be judged from a certain department, locality or enterprise. For instance, if the situation of the whole goes wrong, there will be losses and waste no matter how good the economic result of the part is. In another example, the increase of certain products may be beneficial to a part, but have contrary results to the overall situation. Therefore, we must not only attach importance to the economic results of the part, but also attach more importance to that of the whole. In a capitalist society, it is inevitable for the enterprises of the capitalists to concentrate on economic results. But, due to the production of the entire society being in a state of anarchism, from the overall point of view, the wastage is bound to be immense. Under the socialist system in our country, through overall arrangements, we can fully arouse the initiative of the state, departments, localities, enterprises and laborers, so that the economic results of both the part and the whole are assured. It is also necessary to correctly handle the relations between the results and speed in achieving better economic results.

Under socialist economy, results and speed should be integrated, because the speed we need is one that can bring about certain economic results. If the commodity produced is of an inferior quality and a high price which does not accord with social demands, high as the speed is, it is not only useless but also harmful. We can only seek speed under the premise of achieving better economic results, because this is the only practical speed. Certainly, this does not mean that high speed is unnecessary. If, by working slowly, we can only produce 100 products instead of 10,000, even if these are of high quality and low resource consumption and are marketable, we cannot achieve better economic results.

#### Consciously Arrange the Various Relations of Proportion

No matter under whatever kind of social system, there exist certain relations of proportion between different production departments and various links of reproduction. Only when such relation of proportion is maintained can social production be normally carried out. Marx said: "In order to obtain the amount of products which is suited to different amounts of demands, it is necessary to put in various different kinds and certain numbers of total amounts of social labor. This necessity of distributing social labor according to certain proportions will not be abolished by a certain form of social production. What will be changed is only the form of its manifestation." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 32, p 541) Under the condition of capitalism, social production is dominated by the state of anarchism. The relation of proportion demanded by social production is realized through spontaneous adjustment of the law of value, and at the expense of the proportion being constantly undermined, and sometimes it is even forcibly restored by means of an economic crisis. The

establishment of the public ownership of socialism eliminates the separation of socialized productive forces in ownership, so that the people can consciously arrange the various relations of proportion and ensure that the national economy is developed in a planned and proportional way. Only by developing the national economy in this way can the manpower and material force of the entire society be effectively utilized, and achieve the best economic results with the least consumption to satisfy the increasing needs of material and cultural life of the people. As Marx said: Under the condition of public production, "only when the society has rationally distributed its time can the production that accords with the total demand of society be realized." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," (Part One), Vol 46, p 120)

The fundamental reason for committing mistakes on several occasions in our economic construction in the past is that we were impatient for success and blindly sought high speed. In order to further satisfy the needs of the people and attain the objective of modernization, our economy could and should develop at a relatively fast speed. However, such speed can be achieved only from the even development of the national economy and not from the imbalance of proportion. From the long-term point of view, the fastest speed can only be achieved from proportional development. There is a law in the development speed of economy, of which the most important point is that development speed can be fast if the proportion is coordinated; if the proportion dislocates, it will be like running with one long leg and one short leg--speed can never be achieved.

At the present stage of China, how can we consciously arrange the relations of proportion, so that the national economy will develop in a coordinated way? Due to the uneven development of the productive forces and the simultaneous existence of the various kinds of economic forms arising therefrom, it is essential to practice the principle of the leading role of the planned economy and the supplementary role of market regulation. Planned economy emerges on the basis of the public ownership of socialism and from another important aspect it indicates the essence of socialism. It is one of the basic systems in the socialist economy of our country that must be unswervingly carried forward. However, we must not attempt to monopolize everything according to state plan, as happened in the past, by neglecting the actual condition. In his report to the 12th CPC Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "Planned production and circulation cover the main body of our national economy. At the same time, the production and circulation of some products are allowed to be regulated through the market without being planned, that is, by letting the law of value spontaneously play a regulatory role, within the limits circumscribed by the state's unified plan, and in light of the specific conditions at different periods." Plans of a mandatory and guidance nature must be enforced in regard to the planned production and circulation in the national economy. But whether in mandatory planning or in guidance planning, we must constantly study changes in market supply and demand and consciously make use of the law of value. Such a system of planned management is a summary of years of construction experience achieved in China and the conscious application and development of the law of social labor distributed according to certain proportions as revealed by Marx.

In the course of socialist economic construction, we have taken a tortuous road, scored tremendous achievements and also suffered several setbacks. Through practice and profound summarization of historical experience, the Marxist level of our party has been highly raised and our understanding toward the law of socialist construction in China has been further deepened. This is one of the most basic conditions for the inevitable victory of the cause of socialist modernization. This is a process of Marxism being further integrated with the practice of our socialist economic construction and Marxism being further developed in China.

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## A GREAT CHANGE IN MARX' CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

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[Article by Cheng Hui [4453 2547]; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The historical influence of an ideological system is determined by the truth of this system. With the passage of time, some theories and concepts, which though popular for a period of time, have lost their previous radiance. However, Marxism has been developing with the passing time and has been displaying increasingly the strength of its truth. Over the past century since Marx fell into eternal sleep, Marxism, which has gone through the boundaries of Europe and America, has been sweeping the world with the force of a thunderbolt.

Marx' contributions to humanity were immeasurable. He scored great achievements in many fields, especially in the establishment of the materialist conception of history, which revealed the secrets of history and brought about a fundamental change in the conception of human history.

### I

Just as nature has its own secrets, so social history also has its own secrets. All conceptions of history are answers to the secrets of history provided by thinkers under certain historical conditions and proceeding from their own stands. Marx drew back the heavy curtain covering the organism of human society and provided mankind with a scientific answer which was entirely different from all the previous conceptions of history.

Man understood the science of nature earlier than he understood the science of society. When mankind began to reveal the laws of certain natural phenomena in order to satisfy the needs of production, it was still in the dense fog of theology in understanding its own activities. The theological conception of history, which explained the development of history and social life by means of supernatural will and power, was in a dominant position for a relatively long time, and "deity" was the final answer to the secrets of history. For example, Aurelius Augustinus advocated that God was not only the creator of natural order but also of social order. Thomas Aquinas declared that "without the help and enlightenment of higher divinities, man

can never understand anything about him in an all-round way." ("Summa Contra Gentiles") People did not realize the change in their recognition of society from deity to man until the trend of humanitarianism appeared during the "renaissance" period.

Although the trend of humanitarianism covered a vast range of fields including philosophy, morality, literature and art and aesthetics, the core of it was a kind of political ideal. The essence of humanitarian theories on man's dignity, rights and value as well as on man's nature was to demand the establishment of a society in conformity with the human nature of which they conceived. It seemed to them that a good society, a good country and a good system should conform with human nature. Both freedom and dignity advocated by early humanitarians, such as Picot and Montaigne, and the theory of the French Enlightenment School, which was based on natural rights and which advocated that freedom, equality and universal love were man's nature, were all opinions prepared for the birth of capitalist system, which has been shaped and matured in feudal society. They believed that they were trying to establish a new system in accordance with human nature, but actually, they conceived of a human nature in accordance with the system they were pursuing. And both of these--the system they were pursuing and the human nature as they understood--were all products of history.

Without doubt, bourgeois humanitarianism was a progressive ideological trend in history. Over several hundred years, quite a number of erudite great masters appeared in many fields of learning, who left us a lot of touching and excellent works. By setting man against deities and advocating man as the center as well as the point of departure and the end-result, the humanitarian tried hard to break the fetters of theology and to change the history of the kingdom of heaven into the history of human world. Rousseau said: "Of all kinds of human knowledge, I feel that the most useful and also the most incomplete knowledge is that about 'man.'" ("A Discourse Upon the Origin and Foundation of the Inequality Among Mankind") He also devoted himself to the study in this field. To put man, rather than deity, in the prominent position and to study human history and social systems on the basis of man was a great change in the conception of history. Just as Engels said: "This was the greatest and most progressive change which mankind had ever experienced." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 445)

However, the humanitarian had only made the first step in the change from deity to man. They did not provide people with a truly scientific answer to history. Just as the ancient alchemists who tried to find a "philosopher's stone," they regarded human nature as a "philosopher's stone" which could explain all phenomena in human society. Despite the fact that there were various factions of humanitarians, who vested human nature with different meanings, and that there were various kinds of humanitarianism, their common characteristic was to measure history with human nature. Human nature was regarded as the criterion to judge whether something was reasonable or unreasonable. It was the supreme judge. To realize the turn from deity to man, which was started by humanitarianism, was enough for the bourgeoisie in the period of ascent, for it was only faced with

the problem of its own political emancipation. Feudal privileges and interdependent personal relations fettered the free movement of labor forces and obstructed the equal exchange of commodities. Although capitalists had capital, they were regarded as upstarts and were squeezed out of the upper-class society. They were looked down upon by the feudal nobles, who often showed off the "symbols of their families" and their "genealogies." In other words, the capitalists had "property rights" but no "human rights." They felt bitterly that they lacked the value and dignity of "man"--the rights in various aspects which suited their economic position. Therefore, in their struggles for self-emancipation, they naturally placed the value and dignity as well as freedom and equal rights of man before everything else, and in order to prove that they were reasonable, they finally summed up all this as man's nature.

Every period of time has its special problems. When the rule of the capitalist mode of production was finally established, the capitalist system, which was said to be in conformity with human nature, became merely a desperate parody. Despite all this, the three great utopian socialists in the 19th century still regarded human nature as the final answer to historical phenomena. They held that mankind had not yet completely realized its natural instincts. In a political sense, they had surpassed the French Enlightenment School, but on the question of the conception of history, they had not yet freed themselves from the fetters of conventions. They were still at the stage of changing the nature of deity into the nature of man.

Historical experiences show that if one looks upon man merely from the angle of antagonism between deity and man, one still cannot extricate oneself from the circle of the abstract theory of human nature. Feuerbach was a typical example of this. His philosophy of humanism symbolized the peak of the development of mankind's recognition in several hundred years, which had experienced the change from deity to man. Feuerbach's humanism was a special form of humanitarianism. Its fighting character was obvious when it set man against God and summed up the nature of the deity as the nature of man. However, since it did not go beyond the antagonism between man and God and did not make a further study of the relationship between man and man, it could not break away from the fetters of the abstract theory of human nature. Engels said: "The meaning of Feuerbach's 'man' was extended from God. Feuerbach had made a progress from God to 'man.' Thus, his 'man' still wears a halo of the abstract concepts of theology." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 27, pp 12-13)

When human nature was used as a yardstick of history, many contradictions became insoluble: How could unchangeable human nature become the reason for the development of changeable history? If human nature was also changeable, then what was the reason for the change? The humanitarian conception of history was unable to come out of this difficult maze, and the humanitarians, who emphasized man and emphasized taking man as the point of departure and the end-result, found it more difficult to understand man. For example, Rousseau once said: "In a sense, we can say that we have found it more difficult to understand mankind just because we have worked hard to study it." ("A Discourse Upon the Origin and Foundation of the Inequality Among Mankind")



Hegel, the idealist dialectician, also saw this contradiction and tried hard to solve it. He regarded history as a process of development governed by a specific law and thus pointed out an escape from the maze. However, he did not try to find this law in reality, but in the absolute concepts which he had fabricated. Therefore, he did not, and could not, really solve this contradiction.

It was Marx who really unravelled this chain of rings and found a clue to the mystery of history. This was certainly not an accidental phenomenon. The clue to the mystery of history existed in history itself. Just as Engels said: "In all previous periods, it was almost impossible for people to explore and study the causes of the development of history, for the links between these causes and their effects were confused and concealed. In the present period, however, since such links have become very simple, it is possible for people to open the mystery." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 245)

## II

Marx began his theoretical activity in Germany in the 1840's. Therefore, one of the important characteristics of the development of his thinking at a certain stage was the intermixture of the sprout of materialist conception of history and Feuerbach's humanistic viewpoint. However, through his own exploration, he finally found the way to extricate himself from this difficult theoretical position. He based his research on the exploration of the /"human world"/ and the exposure of the secrets of the "civilian society." Through the study of man's labor and material life, his materialist conception of history gradually took shape, the key of which was the thinking about production relations. The thinking of social production relations marked the watershed between Marx and all previous philosophers in understanding man and society.

The process of the development of materialist conception of history involved three stages of budding, approaching and formulating, which were distinguished from and interrelated with one another. The division of these stages was based on the degree of maturity of the thinking about production relations.

At the earlier stage, when Marx worked in the "Rheinische Zeitung," he regarded rational freedom as man's nature and the state as an expression of the rationality of mankind and a representative of the universal interests. However, as a result of the motivation of social life and the initial exploration of material interests, he began to realize that in studying state life, it was not correct to "explain everything in accordance with the will of a person concerned" but must attach importance to the /objective nature of various relations./ ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 216) Later, when Marx criticized the Hegelian legal philosophy, he clearly pointed out that it was not the state which determined the civilian society, but on the contrary, it was the civilian society which formed a real basis for the emergence and the nature of state. The "civilian society" Marx mentioned here was the "summation of material life relations" he

mentioned in some other places. ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 82) Undoubtedly, to regard material relations as the real foundation for the political system and laws of the state was of great significance in giving shape to a new world outlook. However, at that time, Marx had not yet separated production relations from the summation of material relations and regarded these relations as the most fundamental relations which determined the relations in all other fields.

In his "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," Marx analyzed man's labor activities under capitalist conditions. He recognized that the alienation of workers and their own labor products existed in man's productive activities. As a result of the "self-alienation" of labor and the alienation of labor products, man was alienated from man. Obviously, if the labor products and the activities of the laborers no longer belonged to the laborers themselves, they would certainly belong to "another being." This could not be nature, or God, but could only be the "men" who possessed these parts of labor and products. Under capitalist conditions, these "men" were none other than the capitalists. In fact, Marx was explaining here in embryonic form an extremely important tenet of the materialist conception of history: A certain mode of production inevitably brings about certain social relationship.

In "The Holy Family," Marx went on to make an initial theoretical summary of the above expositions. Property relations and ownership relations were materialized forms of man's social relations based on the material interests. They were forms of the /"substantial existence of man"/ and, simultaneously, of the /"fixed existence of man for others [ren wei ta ren de ding zai 0086 3634 0100 0086 4104 1353 0961]."/ They were /"social relations between man and man."/ ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 52) Despite the obscurities of these expositions, they showed that Marx had already "approached" the fundamental ideas of the materialist conception of history, that is, the ideas of social production relations.

From 1845-46, in "The German Ideology," Marx formulated in an all-round way the fundamental tenet of the materialist conception of history. He brought to light the structure and formation of society, and the law governing their development. He regarded society as a structured organism which was restricted by productive forces and was based on production relations. He thus made an essential progress and reached the scientific concept of production relations on the basis of his previous understandings. He no longer took the "nature of man" as the point of departure, but instead, directly investigated the basic content of the material productive activities and expounded the objective inevitability of the existence and replacement of production relations. Through analyzing contacts, contact relations, contact forms and the forms of ownership, he revealed the interrelations between them and clearly recognized that the people's mental contacts were but "direct products of their material relations" and that of various material relations, production relations were the most fundamental relations. They were not only the "real basis of the state" and political systems but were also the "real basis of all property relations." (ibid., Vol 3, pp 29, 377, 421) Thus, from various social relations of the people

Marx had separated the most fundamental and most primitive relations which determined all other relations, namely, social production relations. Although the terms used by Marx at this time were not definite, for example, he used contact forms on some occasions and forms of ownership on the other, and sometimes he used production relations, he had already mastered the essence and basic content of the concept of production relations. Several months later, when he criticized Proudhon, he condensed all the above-mentioned ideas into the concept of production relations and thus reached complete unanimity between the terms and the content they expressed.

The formation of the concept of production relations enabled people to gain a more scientific understanding of the form and nature of the combination of various factors of productive forces. Moreover, it also enabled people to reveal the internal structure of the course of production, that is, the unity of the productive forces and production relations. As we all know, the concept of productive forces was already put forward and studied by the classical economists before Marx. The reason they had paid attention to the study of productive forces was the need of the capitalist industrial development. However, the question of production relations was an unpassable boundary for them. Therefore, the classical economists could not really understand the course of production which consisted of the unity of productive forces and production relations. They could not understand the decisive role played by material production in the development of the entire social history.

Marx broke through the historical and class limitations of the classical economists and saw the duality of production. He pointed out that when production was conducted, a dual relationship was shown immediately, the relationship between man and nature and the relationship between man and man. They were two aspects of things which related with each other in an organic manner in the same production course. At any time, production relations could not be separately studied without taking productive forces into account, or vice versa. In other words, the two must be regarded as a unity of contradictions. Of course, in the relations between these two, which conditioned each other, in the final analysis, productive forces played a decisive role. Marx made a profound exposition on the most common law of social history, that is, production relations must suit the development of productive forces, and pointed out that the course of history was the course of the development of production relations on the basis of productive forces. In this way, he gave a scientific solution to the mystery of history. This was the most valuable ideological achievement of Marx during 1845 to 1846.

The materialist conception of history was formed step by step in the course of discarding the concept of "abstract man" so as to study the real man, that is, to study his activities and material living conditions. The emergence of this conception of history was consistent with the scientific solution of the question of man. Therefore, we cannot say that materialist conception of history does not include man, does not care about man and does not study the question of man. Quite on the contrary, it was the establishment of this conception of history which placed the study of man

on a scientific basis, and pointed out a real way out for the emancipation of mankind. What is man? We cannot get the answer from "man's self" or "man's specific characteristics." We can only study his productive activities and social relations. Each man as well as the summation of productive forces and production relations of each generation, which are inherited as something ready-made, provide a real foundation of "man's nature" which has been imagined by the philosophers. Without this foundation, "man" can only be another name for the concept. It is entirely groundless to sum up the materialist conception of history as humanism or to consider that this conception of history "excludes man," "overlooks man," and "opposes humanity."

### III

The materialist conception of history provides a philosophical basis for political economy and scientific socialism. When Marx was still under the influence of Feuerbach's idea of humanism, his doctrines on political economy and socialist theory bore the mark of ideological debate. Only with the establishment of the materialist conception of history was there finally a fundamental change in these two areas.

In early 1844 when Marx had just started studying political economy, he still praised Feuerbach, holding the view that "Only Feuerbach's discovery has laid a real foundation for the criticism of all that positivism stands for and thus the German people's criticism of positivism about the national economy." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 46) True, "men" represented a basic area of Marx' then criticism of bourgeois political economy. He charged that bourgeois economists neglected men and failed to regard workers as men. "The national economy treats /proletarians/, i.e., people who have neither capital nor leased land and who work for a living by relying only on labor, which is also one-sided and abstract labor, as simply /works/ to be studied. Therefore, the point is raised that a worker is exactly like a horse and should get only what he needs to keep working." He criticized Ricardo, saying: "In Ricardo's opinion, men are insignificant and products are everything." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 56, p 72) "Human nature is /beyond/ the scope of political economy, and non-human nature is /part of political economy/." ("Reading Notes on 'Economic Studies'") This represents the summation of Marx' then criticism of bourgeois political economy.

It is without a shadow of doubt that Marx' criticism of bourgeois political economy in the name of "men" expressed infinite sympathy for the plight of the proletariat and realistic opposition to capitalism. Meanwhile, he expressed many profound views about private ownership, capital, wages, profits, production, division of labor, needs, currency and other problems. But we must note that in the study of political economy, proceeding from "men" and proceeding from the mode of production represent two different theories and two different approaches. Proceeding from the mode of production, we can provide a scientific explanation for the necessity and the historical nature of various economic relations that exist. Proceeding from "men," we naturally take various economic relations and their laws under the capitalist system (including various forms of exploitation) as

"nonhuman" and as something opposed to "men's nature," and cannot provide a scientific explanation. For example, one of the very important reasons for Marx' then negation of the idea of the value of labor was his view that taking labor as a measure of value means lowering men's role as the mainstay to that of a tool of creating wealth and thoroughly negating men under the false appearance of recognizing man. Thus, the problem of economic laws is lumped with the assessment of ethics, with the latter negating the former. Political economy cannot be turned into the doctrine of ethics. Nor can "men" or the so-called nature of men be taken as a basis for judging the rationality and necessity of various economic forms. In sum, influenced by Feuerbach's humanism, Marx still failed to really define the object of study and the scientific methods, as far as political economy was concerned. To achieve this called for the overall establishment of a materialist conception of history.

Exactly because of his discovery of the laws governing the dialectic operation of productivity and the relations of production and his treatment of the development of the whole society as a natural historical process, Marx developed the materialist conception of history, thus laying a theoretical basis for the proletarian political economy. Marx no longer took various economic relations as manifestations of "men's nature," and no longer took the degree of realization of "men's nature" as a basis for judging economic forms. Instead, he concentrated on the analysis of the economic process itself and studied various relations of production in their links with the level of development of productivity. He pointed out: "The economic form on which people rely for production, subsistence and exchange is a /transient and historical/ form. With the achievement of new productivity, people will change their own mode of production. With the change in the mode of production, they will change all the economic relations that are nothing but the natural relations marking this given mode of production." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 322)

After developing the sphere of the relations of production, Marx took the realistic relations of production as an object of study in political economy. In the well-known "Introduction to 'Critique of Political Economy,'" he put things this way. In the "Manuscripts on Economics" from 1857 to 1858, he no longer simply took various economic relations of a capitalist society as actual satires on "social life." Instead, based on the materialist conception of history, he made a serious analysis. In "Das Kapital," Marx especially put things this way. He did not fall back on men's nature. Instead, like a physiologist making a dissection, he started with the most simple, most ordinary, most often seen and most common commodity in a bourgeois society in exposing the contradictions of the capitalist society and providing convincing proof of its inevitable collapse. Of course, Marx was filled with profound feelings for the proletariat and hatred for the capitalist system of exploitation. But he did not replace science with feelings. His attack on the capitalist system was based on an economic analysis and not on abstract moral principles. In "Das Kapital," he also talked about men, but not ordinary "men" besides capitalists and proletarians and not "men" set up to judge whether the capitalist system is rational, but the personification of the economic sphere, committed to a given class and its interests.

Similarly, the establishment of the materialist conception of history is a prerequisite for turning the theory of socialism from a vision into a science. Ultimately, on what basis should the socialist doctrine be built? This is a fundamental question. If socialism is equated with the realization of "men's nature," the emphasis should of course be on the study of "men themselves" and the study of "men's nature" and on the development of socialism out of "men's nature." If the socialist system is regarded as an objective historical necessity, then we should study society and study the laws governing the social history. Just as Lenin said: "The socialist doctrine prevails exactly when it has given up the argument about social conditions compatible with the innate nature of men and proceeds with a materialist analysis of modern social relations and defines the necessity of the present system of exploitation." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 51)

In the "Manuscripts on Economic Philosophy in 1844," Marx held the view that the communist movement "will naturally, in the /private ownership/ movement or in the economy, find an experiential basis and also a theoretical basis for itself." Marx analyzed the contradictions among land owners, owners of farms on leased land and agricultural workers in agriculture and pointed out that the intensification of these contradictions would "naturally lead to revolution." He analyzed the contradictions between labor and capital in industry and the contradictions between big and small capitalists. He revealed "the trend toward inevitable collapse" in the capitalist mode of production. But here Marx regarded communism as a solution of the contradictions between individuals and society and as men's "possession of their own nature." This way of expression obviously still carried the remnants of Feuerbach's humanism.

The degree of maturity of the socialist doctrine is closely related to the level of development of the materialist conception of history. Just because Marx established the materialist conception of history in all fields and exposed the mystery of history, we were enabled to see the internal contradiction of the necessity of communism being rooted in the capitalist mode of production. He said: "What sets apart communism from all previous movements is that it overthrows the basis of all old relations of production and exchange and for the first time consciously interprets all spontaneous prerequisites as the creations of previous generations and eliminates the spontaneous nature of these prerequisites, so that they are dominated by individuals that have become allied. Therefore, the establishment of communism is in essence of an economic nature. This creates various material conditions for this kind of alliance on and turns the existing conditions into conditions for alliance." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 79) Moreover, he clearly pointed out: "To us, communism is not a /state/ that should be established nor an /ideal/ with which reality should be compatible. What we mean by communism is that kind of /realistic/ movement that eliminates the existing state." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 40) Marx separated the communist system from the communist movement and interpreted the communist movement as the revolutionary practice of changing the reality of capitalism, and the communist system as the end-result of this movement. This rules out the humanist conclusion about the development of communism out of men's nature.

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Since Marx' death, especially since Engels' death, the materialist conception of history has been continuously attacked and distorted. However, "serious attention" was not paid to it until some 50 years ago.

Since the 1930's, some Western scholars have created the so-called antagonism between "two Marxes," that is, the "humanitarian Marx" at the earlier stage and the "materialist Marx" later. They hold that Marx was concerned with man when he was young and "tried very hard to solve the problem of man's existence." However, he did not consistently adhere to his principle. "The scientific communist philosophy--'the foundation of humanism'--ceased development after the publication of the 'Manifesto of the Communist Party.'" They have denounced Marx' change from his study of "man's nature" to the study of social and economic relationship as "betrayal" of his original ideals, "deposal" of man and "transmutation" to the other side. However, they cannot reach their goal through negating Marxism by means of creating antagonism between two Marxes, for it was not until Marx became mature that he exerted a profound influence on all spheres of the contemporary social life both in theory and in practice. For this reason, some other Western scholars have advocated the "unity" between the two Marxes, holding that "there was only one Marx" and that the main theme about man expounded by young Marx in his "Manuscripts" of 1844 runs through all his works. In their view, the weapon Marx used in conducting criticism was always "man's nature" and the theory of alienation, and the "objective facts" on which Marx based his criticism were man's sufferings and the loss of human nature in capitalist society. Thus, the theories of Marx are regarded by them entirely as "theories of humanism" which were aimed at proving the elimination of the alienation of human nature and realizing "man's nature." As a matter of fact, the purpose of all these scholars, whether by setting the young Marx against the mature Marx or by "unifying" the two, is to take "man" as the "central theme" and "foundation" of Marx' theories so that Marxism can be summed up as humanism, that historical materialism, which originated from the movement of the contradiction between productivity and production relations, can be replaced by the so-called "anthropo-materialism," [ren xue bian zheng fa 0086 1331 6589 6214 3127] and that the materialist conception of history can be replaced by the "humanist conception of history."

The reason some Western scholars have created "two Marxes" and are fond of propagating "young Marx" is that there is really something in Marx' early works that can be made use of by them. Marx also predicted at that time that "since all this was expressed by the words and sentences of philosophy at that time, the customary philosophic terms used there, such as 'man's nature,' 'category' and so forth, could have provided the German theorists with an opportunity to comprehend the true ideological process in an incorrect way and to think that all this was but their reconditioned theoretical overcoats." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, pp 261-262) Facts in the past century and more have proved that Marx' worries were not uncalled-for. There is no need for reticence; in the period of taking shape, there were obvious vestiges of Feuerbach's humanism in Marx'

ideology, not only in terms but also in views. The question is not that we should evade this fact but that we should study, as Lenin said, "what Marx had already mastered and how he had developed to the new ideological sphere." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 7) That is to say, in the study, we must not divorce ourselves from the real process in which Marx' ideas were formed and separate the theoretical phenomena emerging in a certain period from the specific period in which these phenomena emerged. Instead, we must firmly grasp all the substantial problems concerning the fundamental changes of Marx' ideological system. The history of the past century or so has proved that the materialist conception of history is an irrefutable truth. Only when we adhere to the materialist conception of history can we continuously push forward the communist cause pioneered by Marx.

CSO: 4004/28



## IMPROVE OUR METHOD OF LEADERSHIP

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 83 pp 37-39

[Article by Gao Yang [7559 2254]]

[Text] I would like to say something about the improvement of the party's work method and style in light of the concrete situation in Hebei Province. Why should I speak on this problem? Because, at present, since the tasks for 1983 have already been clearly and concretely put forward by the central authorities, the problem that the work method and style of the leading cadres at various levels do not suit the demands of the new tasks has become prominent. Therefore, it is quite necessary to discuss how to solve this contradiction.

### I. It Is Necessary To Attach Importance to Investigation and Study and to the Training of Professional Cadres Specializing in Investigation and Study

Chairman Mao always attached great importance to investigation and study. Under his leadership, a good tradition of attaching importance to investigation and study was shaped within the party long ago. However, like other good traditions of the party, it has been seriously damaged for many years. Now quite a few leading cadres do not pay attention to investigation and study, and some young cadres do not know how to investigate and study. Over the past few years, such work styles as superficiality, blindly following the instructions from above and mechanically copying from books regardless of realities, indulging in exaggerations and stereotyped writings and speeches, have widely existed among the cadres. Even when some leading cadres went to the grassroots, they only made cursory observations and gained a superficial understanding of things, not knowing the origins and results of their development. Sometimes they also went to stay at certain selected grassroots units, but usually brought back with them some figures and reports on certain concrete happenings without making regular and comprehensive analysis. In other words, they only investigated and did not study what they had learned. This does not only show that their methods were wrong but also that their ideological level was low. Therefore, it is necessary to improve the work method, to gain a new understanding of the importance of making investigation and study, and to raise the ideological level.

It is necessary to conscientiously study the "Collected Works of Mao Zedong on Rural Investigation." We should study the method of rural investigation advocated and personally adopted by Chairman Mao. Leading cadres at all levels must set an example in the study of this collected works as soon as they get the book, and then organize cadres to study it carefully so that all of them can master the method of investigation and study.

It is necessary to make it a system for leading cadres to maintain close links with the grassroots units, so that at least, one or several grassroots scientific research units in the agricultural, industrial, commercial and educational fields can be placed under the care of the responsible leading cadres at a certain level. In this way, the leading cadres will be able to often contact the grassroots units or stay at a selected unit to find out about the whole situation and study it in line with the relevant policies and principles of the central authorities. Only thus can they form a sound judgment on the work there and give correct guidance to the overall work in their areas. The leading cadres must not only act in this way themselves, but also must ask other cadres to do the same. Why do some cadres often indulge in empty talk when they report on their work? Because, besides the reason of their habitual practices, they only have in their brains the concepts about the policies and principles prescribed in the documents, and some old and new statistical figures. They can do nothing but say empty things. Such a malady cannot be overcome unless we make investigation and study and master the skill of investigation and study.

It is necessary to select some young and middle-aged cadres who have the level of senior middle school or university education and who like to study problems to form investigation and study groups or offices for party and government leading organs at various levels. Better conditions must be created for the members of these groups or offices in their study and work, and guidance must be given to them in reading books, newspapers and magazines, so that they can concentrate their strength on investigation and study. Through training and staying at selected points to make investigation, they will gradually become "brain trusts" of the party and government leading organs at various levels. It is necessary to let them take part in the discussion and the decision of policies. This will help leading organs form correct judgment on the situation and realize correct leadership.

We are now undertaking new and arduous tasks and are faced with a very complicated situation in the political, economic, cultural and other fields. It will not do if we do not change the old leading methods. One of the effective ways to realize modernization of leadership is training and relying on the "brain trusters." This should be adopted step by step.

If the cadres who are assigned the specific task of investigation and study are found to be really capable, they can be promoted to the leading bodies at various levels. This is also a way of training successors.

## II. It Is Necessary To Require Cadres To Study Conscientiously so That They Can Become Both "Red and Expert" and Become People Capable of Shouldering the Heavy Tasks of the Four Socialist Modernizations

Quite a number of comrades whom I have come into contact with do not like reading books. Their knowledge cannot satisfy the needs of their work. So, they have to study, and have to study very hard. "The more they study, the more they will find their knowledge insufficient." When they find "their knowledge insufficient," they will be "thirsty for knowledge."

It is necessary to establish the system of personal responsibility after streamlining organizations. All cadres are busy at their posts at all levels. They have to find time to study and learn to use their time in a scientific way. Sometimes, they have to use their time of entertainment and meeting friends to study. This is really a hard job to do. However, once they have cultivated the habit of reading, they will find it interesting and will no longer feel bored.

All leading cadres are required to find out which of the following is the case in their specific localities: Whether they have not bought or subscribed to the books, newspapers and journals, which, as required by the central authorities, the county-level cadres should read, or they already have the books, newspapers and journals but have not yet organized the study of them. If the former is the case, it is necessary to spend some money. If it is the latter, then the principal leading cadres must set an example in the study and must encourage and organize the broad masses of cadres to study hard.

I hope that the work of the libraries in counties and county key middle schools as well as the cultural centers and stations in towns will be strengthened. I plan to go deep into one or two counties to make investigation in this respect during the first quarter of this year. In the future, the propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee will study and offer a list of books for leading cadres at and above the county level. The relevant units of various prefectures, cities and counties must check their libraries according to the book list to see whether they have the books. If they do not have the books, they must try to get them. Examinations will also be given to leading cadres at various levels at appropriate time to see whether they possess the necessary knowledge.

It is necessary to reorganize and strengthen the party schools and cadre schools (party-building institutes) at the provincial and prefectural (city) levels and expand the scope of the smaller ones. It is necessary to provide full-scale regular training or rotational training to cadres at the prefectural (city) and county levels in accordance with the requirements set by the Central Party School in its report to the CPC Central Committee. As was required, the principal leading cadres must take part in the study in the party schools in a planned way. The phenomenon of merely attaching importance to the present work and neglecting study, for fear that it might affect the work, must be changed, and must be changed right away from this year.

The CPC committees at the prefectural (city) and county levels must hold one or two meetings every month to study and discuss problems. They must attach importance to investigation and study and to reading books and newspapers and must arrange time to discuss one or two urgent problems in light of the progress of the work for the whole year of the CPC Central Committee and the provincial CPC committee. In order to achieve the purpose of raising consciousness, there can be no time limits for the discussions. If a problem cannot be solved in one discussion, it can be discussed again after restudying it.

In order to encourage thinking and promote study, the provincial CPC committee requires that every secretary of the prefectural (city) and county CPC committees should write an article and hand it in by the end of March. There is no restriction on what they will write about, but it is better to write about the experiences and lessons of the work in 1982 or their criticisms and suggestions for the provincial CPC committee. They can write on their work experiences in a certain aspect or of a typical case. They can think independently and write all by themselves or write collectively through discussion. In short, I hope that every secretary of the prefectural (city) and county CPC committees will be able to write an article which has both ideological and literary levels. By saying ideological level, I mean that they must sum up their own experiences and lessons or offer criticisms and suggestions for the provincial CPC committee on the high plane of theory, policy and principle rather than just giving some ordinary comments which are already known by all. In the style of writing, their articles must be concise, substantial, logical and precise and appropriate. When they are handed in, we shall make a public appraisal of them. I hope that some good articles will be written, which can be recommended to central papers and journals.

### III. It Is Necessary To Overcome Laxity in Discipline, Strengthen the Fighting Power of the Party and Raise Work Efficiency

After the 10 years of turmoil, most of the party and government organs at various provincial levels became lax in discipline. This has been greatly changed since the reorganization. However, at present, such a phenomenon as violating party and administrative discipline still often occurs, and, on the other hand, many responsible people have turned a blind eye to it. Some of them dare not criticize it when their relatives or friends have violated discipline. It is an ardent hope of the broad masses of cadres and people to change the backward situation in Hebei's work. They have also agreed with the provincial CPC committee's proposal on mutual trust and mutual support between leading organs at various provincial, prefectural (city) and county levels. We have to reiterate in light of the present conditions the necessity of strictly observing discipline and checking, criticizing and seriously dealing with and punishing the acts of violating discipline. If we still cannot strictly enforce orders and prohibitions, we are already bordering on dereliction of duty. Even the "low-level feudal officials" in the past could say that "if an official cannot do anything for the people's interests, it would be better for him to go home and grow potatoes." What are the reasons that we, the "sound"

revolutionaries in power, should be afraid of being framed or "losing the vote"?

Our party always advocates strict observation of discipline. It has strictly dealt with the typical cases of violating discipline, affecting work efficiency and damaging the party's prestige and educated cadres through newspapers and inner-party circulars, so as to check these unhealthy tendencies. It will continue to do so in the future. I hope that various prefectural (city) and county CPC committees will also do the same.

Now the party's fighting power is really too weak, and above all, the fighting spirit of the party committees at various levels is lower than ever before. While studying the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, some prefectural (city) and county CPC committees have carried out criticism and self-criticism and have found out the fundamental reasons and expressions of the weak and lax leadership of the party committees. They have also discussed the measures for enhancing the party's fighting power. I suggest that all other areas also do the same.

Work efficiency has been raised since a clear division was made between party and government work about half a year ago at the provincial, prefectural (city) and county levels. When the work of structural streamlining and reorganization of leading bodies is finished, the quality and mental attitude of the cadres at post will surely be improved. Thus, the question of raising work efficiency of the party and government organs should be placed on the agenda. Now, it is necessary to set about the experiment of the responsibility system for organ staff members in accordance with the principle of unifying power, responsibility and interests. After experiences are gained, this system can be gradually popularized among the organs at various levels in the second half of the year. Due to the longstanding phenomenon of "everybody eating from the same big pot," such bad habits as being dilatory in doing things, red tape, shirking responsibility and passing on difficulties to the leadership are deeply rooted in quite a number of organs. We must strive for an improvement in this respect this year. The provincial CPC committee has decided to mainly grasp the raising of work efficiency in a certain department in order to promote the work of the whole.

On 11 December 1982, Comrade Hu Yaobang said at the forum for secretaries of the provincial, municipal and regional CPC committees: "All fronts, all regions, all units and all cadres must set for themselves the following task: In the new year, a new atmosphere must be realized, a new achievement must be scored, a new contribution must be made and a new progress must be achieved in our great cause." The leading cadres at all levels in our province must answer the call of Comrade Hu Yaobang and, with a new work spirit, throw themselves into the new battles, so that their regions and departments can make new contributions to the cause of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004/28

## MODELS OF HARD-WORKING AND DILIGENT STUDY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 83 p 40

[Article by Wu Fanwu [0702 0416 0710]]

[Text] Recently I have read several biographies about Marx, Engels and Lenin. Their hard-working and diligent spirits have filled me with strong veneration.

Marx was a learned man. He and Engels founded the communist theory which has made a great contribution to the proletariat of the whole world and to the liberation cause of mankind. Marx made remarkable achievements in the study of history and laws, and his accomplishment in literature and language is also very outstanding. He made use of his spare time, time for rest and his recuperation period to painstakingly study mathematics. Marx could read all the European languages, and could write very well in German, French and English. He cultivated a study habit of underlining sentences in books and making notes. And then, at regular intervals, he would review his notes and places in books where he had made marks so as to reinforce his good and accurate memory. He spent a solid 40 years writing "Das Kapital." He frequently visited the reading rooms of the great British Museum, consulting a large number of reference books and a great deal of material. In the end, the earth-shaking historic masterpiece was brought into being.

Marx' comrade-in-arms Engels was also very well-learned. He not only had a good command of political economics, philosophy and other social sciences, he was also proficient in chemistry, botany, physics, linguistics and the science of military affairs. Moreover, he could speak more than 20 foreign languages. Some of them he learned at an old age, when he was more than 70 years old. Though he suffered a serious eye disease in his later years and his eyesight deteriorated, he carried on his work and studied unyieldingly and with amazing willpower. He deciphered and worked out the abbreviation and handwriting of Marx's script of "Das Kapital." He sorted it out and made a fair copy of it. The second and the third volumes of "Das Kapital" were finally published in 1855 and 1894, respectively.

Lenin was fond of study even since he was young. At the time of his middle-school graduation, he had a good mastery of Latin, Greek, French and German. In 1888 he began his study of Marx' "Das Kapital," Volume 1, at the Kazhan.

After May 1889, he once again made a serious study of many important works of Marx and Engels and he translated the "Communist Manifesto" into Russian. At 20, Lenin began a thorough study of the developing conditions of the Soviet economy and politics while studying and publicizing the theory of Marx and Engels. At the same time, he began to conscientiously study law and seriously make preparations for the university entrance exam. In a short period of 1 year, he managed to finish all 4 years of university courses. In 1891, Lenin took the graduation exam of the law department of Petersburg University, a famous university in Russia, as an outside school student and received a certificate with distinction. Even a year before Lenin passed away, he constantly bore in mind the importance of study. He wrote in his article, "Less But Better": "For the sake of reforming our country's state agencies, we must propose such tasks for ourselves, and the first is study, the second is study and the third is more study."

Marx, Engels and Lenin are models of hard-working and diligent study. It was for the revolutionary cause that they worked hard and studied industriously. If one does not learn, one cannot do a good job in doing revolutionary work. At present our country is undertaking a great revolutionary cause which is to build our country into a socialist, modernized and powerful country. We will not be able to bear the heavy responsibility of constructing the four modernizations if we do not study. Of course we advocate learning from the revolutionary teachers' spirits of hard-working and diligent study but we do not in the least encourage delving into books without digestion. We believe in learning for the sake of application and solving the many new questions that are facing us.

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OUTLINE FOR THE STUDY OF IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS DRAWN UP SINCE THE THIRD  
PLENARY SESSION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 83 pp 41-48

[Article by the RED FLAG Editorial Office of Theory and Education; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] V. Strengthen Political Development, Promote Socialist Democracy, Improve the Socialist Legal System

To achieve a high degree of socialist democracy is one of our party's basic goals and tasks in the current historical period. To this end, we must strengthen political construction, develop a political situation of stability and unity, incorporate socialist democracy in systems and laws, and guarantee the democratization of the political life of our party and state and also the social life of the whole nation. When we study this special topic, we can pay special attention to Comrade Deng Xiaoping's articles: "Free Ourselves From Old Ideas, Seek Truth From Facts, Get United and Look Forward," "Uphold the Four Basic Principles," "The Tasks of the United Front and the CPPCC in the Current Period," "The Current Situation and Our Current Tasks," "Reform of the Leadership System of Our Party and State," "Implement the Principle of Readjustment, Ensure Stability and Unity," and "Streamlining Our Administrative Structure Is a Revolution"; Comrade Zhao Ziyang's article: "Report on Reforming State Council Organs"; Comrade Hu Qiaomu's article: "On Some Ways of Raising the Problem of Class Struggle During the Period of Socialism"; Comrade Peng Zhen's article: "Explanations on the Revised Draft of the Constitution of the PRC"; and the document: "Resolutions of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on Curbing Serious Criminal Activities in the Economic Realm"; and so on.

When we study this special topic, we can pay special attention to mastering the following four main points:

1. Political construction being an important guarantee of the success of economic construction;
2. The relationship between developing socialist democracy and class struggle;



3. The great significance of perfecting the socialist legal system and incorporating socialist democracy in systems and laws;

4. Reforming and perfecting the state political and leadership systems.

/When we study the first main point, we must pay attention to understanding: First, the correct relationship between political construction and economic construction; and second, stability and unity being an important prerequisite for our modernization construction./

A basic question of socialist construction is the correct handling of the relationship between economic construction and political construction and that between economic work and ideological-political work. For a considerable number of years in the past, we did not take economic construction as the focus but took "class struggle as the key link," successively and incessantly launching political movements. In particular, during the decade of internal disorder, the counterrevolutionary clique headed by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing put forth the slogan of letting politics prevail over, and pound at, everything else, thus sabotaging our economic construction and also undermining our political construction and ideological-political work. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has brought order out of chaos with regard to this basic question and has put economic construction in a correct relationship to political construction. That is, economic construction is the focus of our work, the success of which is to be ensured by political construction. Over the past several years, while stressing the shift of the focus of our work, our party has repeatedly explained the importance of strengthening political construction and ideological-political work. The following several points sum up what our party stresses. First, the achievement of the four modernizations require us to improve and perfect the political and leadership systems of our state and to reform various aspects of our superstructure which are not compatible with the requirements of modernization, so that the smooth development of economic construction can be ensured. Second, our socialist modernization construction is to be undertaken by the masses of people. It depends on the joint effort of the whole nation from the leadership to the masses. Only by strengthening political construction and developing socialist democracy can we fully mobilize the enthusiasm of the vast numbers of workers and promote an overall upsurge in socialist economic construction. Third, within certain limits, class struggle will continue to exist for a long time. In particular, criminal activities in the economic realm gravely undermine socialist construction. Only by resolutely curbing them can we ensure that our modernization construction advances along the socialist path. Fourth, our modernizations call for a good style of work in our party and a good general mood of society. A smooth development of our modernizations can be promoted only if we strengthen ideological and political work, vigorously promote communist morals and habits, and provide revolutionary education to encourage adherence to the socialist road and opposition to the corrosive influences of capitalist ideology. For a time after the smashing of the "gang of four," some comrades did not adequately recognize the importance of political construction and ideological and political work, because they did not comprehensively sum up lessons from

both positive and negative past experience. In their view, because economic construction was the focus, it would be all right to do a good job of economic work. Therefore, they did not care about the tendency of the cadres and the masses to neglect politics, or even turned a blind eye to those erroneous trends of thought embodying skepticism about, or negation of, the four basic principles. In view of this tendency to neglect politics and ideological-political work, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly stressed: "We must certainly place ideological-political work in a very important position. We must conscientiously do a good job of this work and must not slacken." He said: "We often talk about improving party leadership. The most important thing is to strengthen ideological-political work." Of course, strengthening political construction and ideological-political work definitely does not imply reverting to the old beaten track of "continuing to wage revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" and "taking class struggle as the key link." Those erroneous guiding principles could only adversely affect or even ruin economic construction and economic work. In the realm of political life and ideological work among the people, we can only use democratic methods to convince and educate, and we must never take suppression and attack as our means. We must inherit and develop our party's fine traditions, conscientiously study the characteristics of, and laws governing, political construction and ideological-political work in the current historical period, and continue to sum up new experience, so that success in economic work can be fully ensured.

Strengthening political construction and ideological-political work as well as consolidating and developing a political situation of stability and unity constitute a prerequisite for socialist modernization, a guarantee of its success, and also a common aspiration of the whole nation. Without a political situation of stability and unity, the people would not be at ease in carrying out construction, and nothing would come of the guiding principles and policies laid down at the third plenary session, the shift in the focus of our work, and the four modernizations. Therefore, since the third plenary session, our party has persistently strived to promote stability and unity and to eliminate factors causing instability. For example, it has continued to stamp out the remaining forces of the Lin Biao and "gang of four" factions; it has reversed the verdicts on a large number of unjust, fabricated or erroneous cases; it has satisfactorily solved many major social and political problems; it has suppressed the activities of a very small minority of counterrevolutionaries and bad elements; it has criticized the ideological trend of striving for bourgeois freedom and opposed various other unhealthy tendencies; it has rectified public order and curbed serious criminal activities in the economic realm, and so on. Our party has paid special attention to the role of means of propaganda, such as newspapers and magazines, broadcasting, television and so on; it has required them to become centers of ideological work for furthering national stability and unity, and for this purpose it has drawn up some relevant important documents. All these things done by our party have greatly contributed to the consolidation and development of a political situation of stability and unity.

/When we study the second main point, we must pay special attention to understanding the following things: First, the reasons why we stress the necessity to develop socialist democracy and to extend democracy to various aspects of social life; second, the necessity to further eliminate the influences of the "leftist" ideology of "taking class struggle as the key link" and to correctly handle contradictions among the people; third, the necessity to persist in waging class struggle within certain limits and to resolutely impose dictatorship on hostile elements; and fourth, the harmfulness of advocating bourgeois democracy and freedom./

Since the third plenary session, our party has repeatedly stressed the development of socialist democracy. For a considerable number of years in the past, our democratic centralism was seriously undermined. Actually, the very nature of our socialist political system prescribes the extension of the most extensive democracy, namely, socialist democracy, to the people. After the founding of the PRC, our party did a great deal of work to develop socialist democracy. However, we did not regard the achievement of a high degree of democracy as a basic task of socialist revolution. Our system was imperfect in many aspects. The problem of inadequate democracy occurred in the political, economic and cultural realms and in various aspects of social life. The lack of democracy inevitably affected people's incentive to free themselves from old ideas, to use their brains and to fully develop their socialist enthusiasm, and inevitably favored the development of bureaucracy and the occurrence of various kinds of undesirable phenomena. This was an important reason why the "Great Cultural Revolution" broke out and could not be avoided. Precisely because of this, since the third plenary session, our party has taken a series of measures to develop socialist democracy and has effectively worked to extend democracy to various realms and aspects. Facts have proved that our party's guiding principle of developing socialist democracy is absolutely correct. After several years' efforts to bring order out of chaos, democratic life has greatly developed in our country. On various fronts, the apathetic atmosphere of the past, in which "10,000 horses were all muted," has been put to an end, and a vigorous political situation has again prevailed.

To develop socialist democracy, we must further eliminate the influences of the "leftist" ideology of "taking class struggle as the key link." Since the third plenary session, the CPC Central Committee has repeatedly pointed out that after 30 years' revolution and construction, the situation of social classes in our country has basically changed. The position of our country's working class has been greatly strengthened. The peasants in our country have experienced collectivism for over 20 years. Vast numbers of intellectuals, including the overwhelming majority of intellectuals who came from the old society, have become part of the working class. The means of production originally owned by the capitalist class of our country have been turned over to the state. The overwhelming majority of those capitalists who can work have been transformed into workers who earn their own living. Various democratic parties and groups in our country have become political allies of those socialist workers who are related to them and of a number of patriots who support socialism. The "people" comprise over 99.9 percent of our country's population and include a much wider

collection of social sectors than at any time in our country's past history. Although there are various kinds of contradictions among the people, there are no conflicts of basic interests. The cause of building and developing socialism represents the common interests of all the people. This basic condition shows that class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our country's society. The majority of contradictions in our society essentially do not belong to the category of class struggle. We must resolutely correct the "leftist" mistake of "taking class struggle as the key link," strictly distinguish between two essentially different categories of contradictions, and apply democratic methods to handle the vast numbers of contradictions among the people. The principal correct method of handling contradictions among the people is "unity-criticism-unity." When we use this method to resolve contradictions among the people, we must pay attention to two possible mistakes. One is to refrain from educating, criticizing or interfering with people, and the other is to criticize or educate people inappropriately. Both of them can intensify contradictions. Therefore, the key to the correct handling of contradictions among the people is to correctly use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Both criticism and self-criticism must proceed from reality. Whatever the mistakes are they must be corrected as such. Contradictions must neither be covered up nor exaggerated." "In the past, our principal mistake was to carry class struggle too far. The result was opposite to what was desired. People became reluctant to criticize themselves and afraid to criticize others. We must correct this unhealthy tendency."

Since the third plenary session, while declaring that class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our country, the CPC Central Committee has also repeatedly and clearly pointed out that because of domestic factors and foreign influences, in our country, class struggle in society will continue for a long time to exist within certain limits, and may even intensify under certain conditions. At the present stage, class struggle in our country is mainly reflected in the people's struggle against a very small minority of hostile elements who deliberately want to undermine or overthrow the socialist system by their activities in the economic, political, ideological or cultural arena or in social life. If we overlook the fact that class struggle still exists, we really commit the mistake of believing in the theory of the dying out of class struggle, and this would be disadvantageous to the development of socialist democracy. In his article entitled "Uphold the Four Basic Principles," Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The development of socialist democracy definitely does not imply that we may refrain from enforcing dictatorship of the proletariat on those forces which are hostile to socialism." Although "the struggle against them differs from the direct struggle of one class against another in past history (because they cannot openly form a fully fledged class), however, it is a specific form of class struggle or we can say that it is a remnant of the class struggle of the past, existing in a specific form under socialist conditions. We must continue to exercise dictatorship over all those who oppose socialism. Otherwise, socialist democracy would be impossible." Over the past several years, while safeguarding the people's democratic rights, we have also effectively exercised dictatorship over an extremely small minority of hostile elements. In this connection, we have strengthened

political and legal work, thus bringing about a marked improvement in social order. From January to September 1982, the number of criminal offenses in our country showed a 15.7 percent decrease compared with the same period in 1981. By the end of 1982, over 164,000 cases of economic crimes of various categories had been revealed and placed on file for investigation in our country. Over 86,000 of these cases had been wound up, with nearly 30,000 persons being punished by law. Over 46,700 persons surrendered themselves to the authorities and confessed their crimes. After a year's struggle, the evil trend of openly smuggling goods and selling smuggled goods, which was rampant for a period of time, was basically checked, and hostile forces which sabotaged our socialist economy through corruption, bribery, stealing, speculation, fraud and so on were powerfully crushed. Facts have demonstrated that our party's analysis of the situation of class struggle is scientific and hostile elements really form a very small minority. Facts have also demonstrated that upholding the state's function of exercising dictatorship is absolutely necessary to safeguarding democracy for the people and achieving socialist modernization.

While our party was bringing order out of chaos, summing up the bitter experience of the decade of internal disorder and emphasizing the development of socialist democracy, an extremely small minority of people in society distorted our party's guiding principles and policies, stirred up the "Xidan Wall incident" and set up "human rights groups" and so on, and advocated bourgeois democracy and freedom. These so-called "democrats" spread opinions expressing skepticism about and opposition to the four basic principles, misled some members of the masses, particularly some young people, and incited them to make trouble. This was completely contrary to the people's demand for developing socialist democracy in our country. In his article entitled "Uphold the Four Basic Principles," Comrade Deng Xiaoping says: "What kind of democracy is presently needed by the Chinese people? They need socialist democracy alone, which is also called the people's democracy, and not bourgeois democracy which is marked by individualism. The people's democracy cannot be divorced from dictatorship over the enemy or from centralism that is based on democracy." If we prattle about democracy in abstract terms without adhering to the people's basic interests or the four basic principles, then we would only arrive at bourgeois democracy marked by individualism, and consequently extreme democratization and anarchism would inevitably run rampant among the people. In effect, these undesirable viewpoints and opinions would protect the enemy. The ideological trend of bourgeois freedom would gravely undermine the political situation of stability and unity and also gravely disrupt our socialist modernization. We must clearly know its nature and harmful effects and resolutely struggle against it.

/When we study the third main point, we must pay attention to understanding the following: First, why socialist democracy must be incorporated in systems and laws; and second, how the socialist legal system can be perfected./

The building of socialist democracy must be closely integrated with the establishment of our socialist legal system, so that socialist democracy

can be incorporated in systems and laws. This is one of the important lessons we have learned from the decade of internal disorder. After the founding of the PRC, we did enact many laws. However, little importance was attached to our legal system, which was also far from perfect. Because democracy was not incorporated in systems and laws, a grave mistake such as the "Great Cultural Revolution" could not be prevented or halted, resulting in a distressing situation in which "both the law and heaven were defied" and "the whole country was thrown into a great upheaval." This historical experience made us deeply understand that we must strengthen the establishment of our socialist legal system. The resolution of the third plenary session states: "To safeguard the people's democracy, we must strengthen our socialist legal system and incorporate democracy in systems and laws, and we must make these systems and laws possess stability, continuity and extremely great power, so that the law can guide people's action, the law must be observed, the enforcement of law must be rigorous and action must be taken against offenders." In his speech entitled "Free Ourselves From Old Ideas, Seek Truth From Facts, Get United and Look Forward," Comrade Deng Xiaoping stressed: "We must incorporate democracy in systems and laws, and make sure that these systems and laws will not change when new leaders take up their posts or when the leaders' views or the focus of their attention change." If we have a sound socialist legal system, then we can correctly distinguish between and handle two essentially different categories of contradictions, and tackle the question of class struggle according to stipulations and procedures provided in the constitution and the law. Thus, the people's democracy can be safeguarded and dictatorship can be effectively enforced on the enemy.

To strengthen the socialist legal system, laws must be enacted in the first place; that is, there must be "laws to guide people's action." From the third plenary session to August 1982, around 300 items of new legislation, decrees, and administrative rules and regulations were promulgated in our country. After that period, some new laws have been further promulgated. At the fifth meeting of the Fifth NPC, the "Constitution of the PRC" was amended, adopted and also promulgated for implementation. At present, the legal system has yet to be further perfected. Many kinds of legislation, particularly economic legislation, have not been drawn up. The relationship between the state and enterprises, between various enterprises, between enterprises and individuals, and so on, must be prescribed by means of legislation. Many of the contradictions between these various parties must also be resolved by legal means. In addition, we must also rigorously strengthen the study of international law. Second, concerning enforcement of the law, "the law must be observed, the enforcement of law must be rigorous and action must be taken against offenders." Otherwise, the enactment of laws would be meaningless. In the enforcement of the law, for one thing, any organization or individual must obey the law, and party organizations and members must likewise abide by the law and the constitution in their activities. On the other hand, procuratorial and judicial organs must be appropriately independent. They must be faithful to laws and systems, to the people's interests, and to the truthfulness of facts. They must not be interfered with by any organizations or individuals. The whole people must be educated in matters of the legal system. Everyone must abide by the law.

Moreover, the legal system must be vigorously defended and struggle must be waged against various categories of offenses against the law.

/When we study the fourth main point, we must pay attention to understanding the following: First, the necessity to reform the political system and leadership system of our state; and second, the basic principles and main tasks of reform./

To reform and perfect the political system and leadership system of our state is a requisite for the achievement of socialist modernization and is also an important element of the strengthening of political construction during the current historical period. It was pointed out in the third plenary session that "to achieve the four modernizations, we must greatly improve our productive forces. Therefore, inevitably, we must change many aspects of the production relations and superstructure which are incompatible with the development of the productive forces, and we must change all those unsuitable styles of management, organizing activities and thinking. Therefore, we will have to wage an extensive and profound revolution." Our party places the reform of our political system and leadership system in the most important position relative to all other reforms. The reasons are as follows. First, whether our state can correctly draw up its major policies is extremely closely related to its political system and leadership system. If the leadership system is not perfect and democratic centralism cannot be safeguarded, then the results will be dictatorship of the individual, disruption of collective leadership, or even the committing of great mistakes in policy formulation. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Our committing of various kinds of mistakes in the past was naturally related to the thinking and styles of certain leaders. However, the question of systems of organization and work was more important. If these systems had been good, evildoers would not have been able to run wild. If the systems are bad, good people will not be able to do good or may even turn to the opposite side." Second, many defects exist in certain aspects of our political and leadership systems, the principal ones being bureaucracy, overconcentration of power, cadres and leaders holding lifelong posts and enjoying many privileges, and so on. The principal problems of our organizational setup are a lack of separation between the party, the government and the authorities in charge of enterprises, the overstaffing of administrative organs, too many people doing too little work, a lack of clear definition of duties and responsibilities, and low efficiency. Third, our cadre system has to be urgently reformed. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "For a large country such as ours, the absolute figure of 18 million cadres for all our industries and professions is not a large one. The problem is that the composition of cadres is not rational. There are too many cadres who lack professional knowledge and ability and too few who possess professional knowledge and ability." There are grave defects in our cadre system which are disadvantageous to the discovery, selection and training of talent, to lowering the average age of the cadres, and to turning them into a professional contingent of cadres. Moreover, the defects lead to the stifling and wastage of real talents. Therefore, we must reform our organizational setup and cadre system. Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly stated that the streamlining of administrative organs is a revolution. However, this revolution is aimed

at organizations and systems, not individuals. He also said that if we do not wage this revolution, not only will the four modernizations be hopeless, but our party and state may even perish.

How should the reform be carried out? In his report on the reform of State Council organs, Comrade Zhao Ziyang said: "Our basic guiding principle is to carry out this important reform in the spirit of waging a revolution." To reform and perfect various systems of our state is an arduous and long-term task. Therefore, first, our determination must be strong and second, our work must be meticulous. In the light of the practice in reforming State Council organs, our first step should be the solution of four problems, taken as the focus of our work. First, we must initially clearly define the duties and responsibilities of various departments and their subordinate organs, establish rigorous and scientific systems of job responsibility, and resolutely end the situation of overstaffing of administrative organs, lack of a clear definition of duties and responsibilities, prevalence of disputes over trifles, and low efficiency. Second, we must select and appoint upright and capable people to build and provide staff for leading bodies. Leading bodies should have a smaller but highly trained staff. They must gradually become more revolutionary, their average age must be gradually lowered, and their staff must gradually become educated and professional. This is the most important link. Third, we must conscientiously and satisfactorily plan for old cadres' retirement, resignation, and retreat to the second front. We must abolish the system of lifelong posts for leading cadres, which now exists. This abolition must be guaranteed by a system. Fourth, we must earnestly strengthen the work of training cadres in rotation and improve the quality of the entire contingent of cadres. This is a major item of construction of strategic importance.

In the new constitution adopted at the fifth meeting of the Fifth NPC, various stipulations concerning the political and leadership systems of the state incorporate some major reforms. The principal items of reform are as follows: First, the system of the National People's Congress is strengthened; second, the posts of chairman and vice chairmen of the state are to be restored; third, a central military committee under state leadership is to be established to exercise leadership over all armed forces in our country; fourth, in the State Council, a system of the prime minister's responsibility is to be established; fifth, the building of local governments under the centralized leadership of central authorities is to be strengthened; sixth, the system whereby government organs are incorporated in authorities in charge of rural people's communes is to be ended, and rural governments are to be established; and seventh, it is stipulated that no one may remain in a leading post of the state for more than two consecutive terms. These items of reform reflect the principles and fruits of our reform. To sum up, the whole people must be enabled to exercise state power more satisfactorily, and state organs must more effectively exercise leadership over and organize socialist construction and must more satisfactorily cooperate and carry out division of labor among themselves.



## VI. Strengthen the Development of Socialist Spiritual Civilization

Since the third plenary session, our party has brought about a major development in building socialism by putting forth the idea that aside from striving for a high degree of material civilization, we must also work to achieve a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization. To study this special topic, we can mainly read Comrade Ye Jianying's article: "Speech at the Meeting for Celebrating the 30th Anniversary of the PRC"; Comrade Deng Xiaoping's articles: "Congratulatory Speech at the Fourth Conference of Literary and Art Workers in China," "Implement the Principle of Readjustment, Ensure Stability and Unity" and "A Talk on Questions of the Ideological Front"; Comrade Hu Yaobang's articles: "Speech at the Forum on Script Writing," "Speech at the Second National Conference of the Science Association of China" and "Speech at the Forum on Questions of the Ideological Front"; Comrade Hu Qiaomu's article: "Certain Current Questions of the Ideological Front"; Comrade Zhao Ziyang's article: "The Current Economic Situation and Guiding Principles Concerning Future Economic Construction"; Comrade Peng Zhen's article: "Explanations on the Revised Draft of the Constitution of the PRC"; and also the document: "CPC Central Committee Circular on Transmitting the Article: 'Launch a Sustained and In-Depth Movement of 'Stressing Five Things and Beautifying Four Things,' Strive for Greater Success in Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization'"; and so on.

When we study this special topic, we can pay attention to understanding the following four main points:

1. The great significance of building socialist spiritual civilization;
2. New developments in ideological construction since the third plenary session;
3. The importance of, and basic guiding principles concerning, the vigorous development of education, science, literature and art; and
4. The need to fully develop the intellectuals' role in modernization.

/When we study the first main point, we must pay attention to understanding the following: First, the reasons for putting forth the building of socialist spiritual civilization; second, the great importance of building socialist spiritual civilization to the achievement of modernization; and third, communist ideology being the core of spiritual civilization./

Since the shift of the focus of the entire party's work to economic modernization, the CPC Central Committee has repeatedly and earnestly put forth the idea that while we strive for a high degree of material civilization, we must also vigorously work to achieve a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization. This is a strategic guiding principle concerning the building of socialism. Our party's fine traditions include development of ideological education and cultural education, heightening the political and ideological awareness of the cadres and the masses as well as raising their cultural standard, and promoting the development of revolution and construction.

However, during the decade of internal disorder, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" sabotaged our party's work in ideological and cultural education and promoted the spread and growth of bourgeois ideology, petty bourgeois ideology and remnants of feudalism ideology. Over the past several years, since the implementation of the policy of opening our country to economic intercourse with foreign countries, foreign bourgeois ideology and hostile forces have found their way in, so that a minority of people have been tempted by decadent bourgeois lifestyles and infected by the ideology of striving for bourgeois freedom. These historical and social reasons have caused unhealthy developments in our party's style of work and in the general mood of society. In a certain period, some people openly spread extremely erroneous opinions about major questions of principle, primarily the question of whether we should uphold the four basic principles or be skeptical about them and oppose them. Moreover, various unhealthy trends constituted a serious problem, social order was thrown into confusion and the committing of crimes and offenses by young people and juveniles became a marked problem. Therefore, it was an important and urgent task for our party to conscientiously strengthen ideological construction, to correct unhealthy trends, to rectify social order, to develop fine revolutionary traditions, and to develop education in communist ideals and morals. The CPC Central Committee opportunely put forth the question of building socialist spiritual civilization. Comrade Ye Jianying put forth this question for the first time in his "Speech at the Meeting for Celebrating the 30th Anniversary of the Founding of the PRC." He said: "While striving for a high degree of material civilization, we must also raise our nation's standard of education, science, culture and health, establish lofty revolutionary ideals, morals and habits, develop a lofty and rich cultural life that is full of variety, and work to achieve a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization." Later, in "A Talk at the Forum on Script Writing," Comrade Hu Yaobang again mentioned the task of building socialist spiritual civilization and explained the interrelationship between it and material civilization. In December 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping again pointed out: "What we call spiritual civilization does not only include education, science and culture (which are absolutely essential), but also includes communist ideology, ideals, beliefs, morals and discipline, revolutionary stand and principles, relationship between man and man as comrades, and so on." In November 1981, in his governmental work report presented at the fourth meeting of the Fifth NPC, Comrade Zhao Ziyang further clearly elaborated on the significance and substance of, and measures to be taken in, building socialist spiritual civilization. Within a few years, with the development of practice, our party has acquired a much deeper understanding of building socialist spiritual civilization. The report of the 12th CPC Congress has comprehensively summed up experience in this respect, has stated that socialist spiritual civilization is an important characteristic of socialism, has explained the importance of building socialist spiritual civilization on the theoretical high plane of scientific socialism and on the political high plane of our country's future social development, and has put forth various guiding principles for work and various specific measures, to make possible the accomplishment of this task.

What is the great importance of building a highly developed socialist spiritual civilization to the achievement of modernization? First, it is a necessity prescribed by the substance of scientific socialism. Socialist spiritual civilization is an important characteristic of socialism and an important manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system. The sign which distinguishes socialist modernization from capitalist modernization is that in socialism, not only is the standard of material livelihood highly developed, but people possess communist ideology and there exist new relationships between man and man, and so on. Second, in building socialist spiritual civilization, ideological construction, in particular the establishment of revolutionary ideals, morals and discipline, not only promotes the building of material civilization, but ensures that it develops in the socialist orientation. Moreover, in building spiritual civilization, cultural construction is of enormous importance to raising the whole people's cultural, scientific and technological standard. If we do not train vast numbers of various categories of qualified personnel at various levels as well as vast numbers of skilled workers, the achievement of the four modernizations will become empty talk. Third, to build socialist spiritual civilization is the most positive and effective means of thoroughly correcting various unhealthy tendencies. We can free people from the influences of various kinds of ideologies of exploiting classes and enable them to become new socialist men only by vigorously grasping the building of spiritual civilization, strengthening ideological education and arming people with communist ideology.

Communist ideology is the core of socialist spiritual civilization and also our banner. This lofty ideal encouraged tens of thousands of revolutionaries to fight arduously and sacrifice their lives in struggles. Only thus have we been able to achieve success in our new democratic revolution and socialist revolution. Today, when we work to achieve socialist modernization, it is even more necessary for us to hold high this brilliant banner, pool the people's wisdom and strength, and overcome various difficulties encountered in our advance. At present, we are implementing the policy of distribution according to work done, but we must also advocate the communist ideology and attitude to work. Only thus can people be made to break through a narrow horizon and correctly understand and handle relations of interests between the state, the collective and the individual. Otherwise, spiritually, people will get bogged down in individualism, and the cause of modernization will change in nature and embark on an evil path because people do not have a lofty ideal and aim. Some people distort the implications of our policy of enlivening our domestic economy and opening our country to economic intercourse with foreign countries. They think that we have done away with the communist spirit and revolutionary slogans such as "be utterly devoted to others without any thought of self" and "fear neither hardship nor death." In the light of this erroneous idea, Comrade Deng Xiaoping solemnly said: "The more extensively our party and our government carry out various economic reforms or implement the policy of opening our country to economic intercourse with foreign countries, the more necessary it is for party members, especially responsible cadres at high levels in our party, to pay great attention to communist ideology and morals and to put them into practice in their own action." It is a completely erroneous view to set education in communist ideology against existing socioeconomic policies.

/When we study the second main point, first, we must clearly understand the substance and requirement of ideological construction; and second, we must pay attention to persisting in and developing mass activities aimed at ideological construction./

The content of ideological construction includes many things, the most important of which being the establishment of revolutionary ideals, morals and discipline. We must effectively carry out propaganda, educational work, ideological-political work and work in other areas, so that gradually, members of our society can acquire communist ideals, morals and habits, acquire a communist attitude to work, acquire lofty ideology, sentiments and aesthetic viewpoints, acquire the spirit of consciously abiding by the law, acquire a high degree of compliance to organizational discipline, take to a lofty style of living, persist in subordination of one's personal interests and partial or local interests to overall interests of the whole and subordination of immediate interests to long-term interests, devote themselves to socialist modernization and to our socialist motherland in whatever they do, and develop a lofty spirit of patriotism and internationalism. We must build socialist spiritual civilization so that an ever-increasing proportion of members of society can become educated workers who possess good ideals and morals and abide by discipline, and a new relationship prevails among the whole people, marked by unity, friendship, helpfulness, and joint effort in struggle and advance.

Since the third plenary session, our party has always stressed the necessity to launch education aimed at teaching the whole party and the whole people to resist the corrosive influences of capitalist ideology, so that the purity of communist ideology can be upheld. Principles of communist morals must be applied to various realms such as social morality, professional integrity, morals concerning marriage and family life, and so on. To strengthen education in communist ideology, we must not only promote the study of basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, but must use methods suited to the tastes of the Chinese people and launch solid and lively mass activities. In recent years, in building socialist spiritual civilization, our people have invented many new forms and new methods, for example, the "stressing five things, beautifying four things, fervently loving three things" movement, a "civilization and courtesy month for the whole people," learning from Lei Feng, rectification of traffic order, cleanliness and hygiene movements, youth service teams, the "having four things, stressing three things, fearing not two things" movement among the army, "school regulations" for colleges and primary and secondary schools, "regulations for workers" as applicable to enterprises in the industrial and mining sectors, common codes of practice for service trades and for peasants in rural areas, moral norms of scientific work for scientific and technical workers, and so on. Considerable success and valuable experience have been gained through launching these movements and implementing these codes and regulations, and gratifying changes have occurred in the face of various urban and rural areas in our country. There have been improvements in making the environment green, in social order and traffic order and so on. Interpersonal relationships have improved to a certain extent. The communist spirit has been continuously carried forward,

greatly curbing the spread of decadent bourgeois ideology. More importantly, these activities have greatly stimulated our national spirit, so that the vast numbers of cadres and the masses have gained greater confidence in working to bring about a good style of work in our party and a good general mood in society. People have been encouraged to overcome difficulties with one heart and to do a good job of socialist modernization. We must continue to carry out these activities in a down-to-earth manner, and establish sound regulations and systems according to necessity to incorporate them in systems and to make them become our regular work.

/When we study the third main point, we must deepen our understanding of the following issues: First, to popularize education is an important prerequisite for the building of material civilization and spiritual civilization; second, science and technology constitute a category of productive forces and the modernization of science and technology is the key to the four modernizations; and third, we must uphold the guiding principle that literature and art must serve the people and socialism./

To achieve socialist modernization, we need to vigorously develop education and train a large number of qualified personnel in various specialized fields and at various levels as well as a large number of skilled workers. This is an extremely important item of basic construction. Recent history of economic development has fully demonstrated that the standard of science and education of the workers of enterprises to a very large extent determines the standard of running and managing the enterprises, the level of economic benefits, the level of labor efficiency and the speed of development of production. The workers' standard of science and technology can be raised only by developing education, and the training of qualified personnel needed by various cultural undertakings depends greatly on education. Therefore, education is an important guarantee of sustained national economic development and an important prerequisite for building material civilization and spiritual civilization. Since the founding of the PRC, our education has greatly developed. However, because of various mistakes in our work, particularly because of the sabotage that took place during the decade of internal disorder, education is still relatively backward in our country. At present, 5-year primary education has not yet been extended to all children in our country, so that the number of illiterate persons keeps on increasing. Some 80 percent of our workers have not received junior middle education. Out of every 10,000 people in our country, there are only 13 university students. In this respect, our country ranks 129th among 137 countries and regions in the world. This situation is far from satisfying the requirements for building a highly democratic and civilized modern socialist country. To change this situation as quickly as possible, we must gradually increase the relative proportion of investment in education and put an end to the present situation in which spending on education is highly inadequate. We must vigorously and steadily develop higher education quantitatively. In particular, we must pay attention to the raising of quality. Aside from operating regular universities, we must vigorously develop university education through part-time programs, television, correspondence and so on. We must encourage people to become qualified through studying on their own. In the arena of secondary education, we

must gradually put an end to the situation in which ordinary higher middle schools are too many but vocational training middle schools are too few. We must vigorously develop technical middle schools and train large numbers of technical workers and middle-level specialized personnel. In the 1980's, we must basically accomplish our historical task of extending primary education to all children in our country. We must also conscientiously strengthen education for all our workers and effectively raise their standard of political ideology, science, academic education, professional skill and management and operation.

In his "Speech at the Second National Conference of the Science Association of China," Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Science is an enormous force which promotes historical advances. The conversion of science into powerful productive forces has become increasingly more rapid. Without advanced science and technology, our four modernizations would be impossible. To master the most advanced science and technology of our times is a basic question related to our country's future prospects." Since the 1970's, the relative contribution of science and technology to development in production has been 60 to 80 percent in some developed countries. The modernization of science and technology is the key to our modernization construction. Without relying on advanced science and technology, we would be unable to attain the magnificent goals of achieving a vigorous development of our country's economy and quadrupling our country's annual industrial and agricultural output by the end of this century. However, some of our comrades always think that "development of production is a rigid task, but development of science and technology is a flexible target." They do not fully understand the importance of, and urgent need for, scientific and technological advance. We must vigorously propagate attaching great importance to science and technology. Through conscientious efforts in organization, we must turn our CPC Central Committee's call for learning and developing science and technology into a down-to-earth and conscious action of the hundreds of millions of people in our country. Our basic guiding principle concerning the development of science and technology is clear and definite. Basic research definitely must not be weakened. However, the overall scientific and technological work must be geared to the needs of economic construction. The focus of development should be the serving of the needs of economic construction, in particular, the serving of the need for solving key problems of our national economy that involve great economic benefits. Therefore, we must vigorously launch research in applied science and use our valuable human, financial and material resources for the most urgent needs, so that science and technology can make contributions in promoting progress in production techniques and the enhancement of economic benefits. To this end, we must implement our party's guiding principles and policies in the following ways, as pointed out by Comrade Zhao Ziyang: First, we must develop the enthusiasm of scientific and technological personnel; second, we must pose questions for the scientific and technological front; third, we must create conditions for scientific and technological work; and fourth, we must open up ways to apply the fruits of scientific research to production.

The CPC Central Committee has put forth the point that in the current historical period, art and literature must serve the people and socialism. This represents an application and development of Comrade Mao Zedong's thought about art and literature under current historical conditions. To serve socialism is a broad concept. Any work that is advantageous to the training of the socialist new man does serve socialism. To serve socialism is tantamount to and consistent with serving the people. This guiding principle is compatible with the objective situation of the development of art and literature, and is conducive to the flourishing and development of socialist art and literature. In his "Congratulatory Speech at the Fourth Conference of Literary and Art Workers in China," Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "We must continue to adhere to the orientation put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong, namely, that literature and art is to serve the broadest sector of the masses of people, and should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers in the first place. We must adhere to the guiding principle of letting a hundred flowers blossom, weeding through the old to bring forth the new, making foreign things serve China and making the past serve the present. In artistic creation, we must encourage the free development of various forms and styles. In artistic theory, we must encourage free discussion of various viewpoints by various schools." We must create an atmosphere which is most suitable to the vigorous development of literature and art, fully mobilize the enthusiasm of the vast numbers of literary and art workers, and develop all literature and art which is socialist in nature or beneficial to the people. We should also criticize works or opinions which contain mistakes. However, we must criticize in the spirit of comrades and our criticism must be sensible, based on reason, appropriate and convincing. Moreover, we must permit counter criticism. Some time ago, in the literary and art field, as in other realms of ideology, for a time there was an ideological trend of striving for bourgeois freedom, marked by attempts to do away with party leadership and to depart from the path of socialism. Some comrades misinterpreted the guiding principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" as implying that one could do away with any principles, could write or say anything as one wished, and could not be criticized or interfered with by anyone else. Some comrades deny that social life is the only source of literary and artistic creation and they do not agree to the idea of going deep into people's daily life to study society. Some comrades regarded literature and art as a purely personal undertaking, thinking that writers and artists could disregard social effects and could depart from our party's correct leadership over the orientation of development of literature and art. In creation work, some comrades blindly imitated Western and foreign fashions, or pandered to the low tastes of a backward section of the masses. In the light of these problems, the CPC Central Committee opportunely took measures to patiently and warmly enlighten and educate literary and art workers, thus ending these erroneous tendencies. Since the third plenary session, great success has been achieved in the literary and art field. By their own creative and highly successful work, the vast numbers of literary and art workers have provided the people with a great deal of wholesome nourishment for the mind. Outstanding works on various themes, forms and styles have realistically reflected the pulse of the times and the people's aspirations, and have played a beneficial role in raising the spiritual

plane and aesthetic tastes of the broad masses of the audiences and readers. In literary and art circles, various forums on creation and various activities in assessing and granting awards for outstanding works have greatly promoted the flourishing of creation and greatly encouraged new writers and artists. In the literary and art field, a gratifying scene of vigor prevails, marked by flourishing creation and people of talent coming forth in large numbers.

/When we study the fourth main point, we must pay attention to the following points: First, we must further eliminate the erroneous idea of discriminating against intellectuals and we must promote respect for knowledge and intellectuals; and second, we must continue to conscientiously implement policies concerning intellectuals and must fully develop the intellectuals' role./

The intellectuals play a very important role in the building of material civilization and spiritual civilization. However, over many years, because of the influences of "leftist" ideology, and particularly because of the sabotage done by the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing during the decade of internal disorder, the tendency of despising knowledge and discriminating against intellectuals became increasingly more serious both within and outside our party. Over a considerable number of years, intellectuals were erroneously regarded as a section of the bourgeoisie and it was then even more difficult for their role to be brought into play. This was very disadvantageous to socialist modernization. Therefore, to implement policies concerning intellectuals became an important and urgent task. Since the third plenary session, on the question of the intellectuals, the CPC Central Committee has set to rights things which had been thrown into disorder and has repeatedly stressed the necessity to implement policies concerning the intellectuals. It has clearly pointed out that overall, the intellectuals in our country have become part of the working class and they constitute a particularly important key force in modernization. It no longer says that we must "unite, educate and reform" the intellectuals, but now says that it is necessary to "treat them equally politically, go all out to make use of their work and show concern and care for their livelihood." It stresses the need to promote capable intellectuals in their prime who have political integrity and organizing ability to various leadership posts. It encourages all the people to respect knowledge and the intellectuals. Moreover, it has done a great deal of work to improve the treatment, remuneration, and conditions for the intellectuals in the political, work, and livelihood aspects. For example, it has conscientiously investigated and reversed the verdicts on a large number of unjust, fabricated and erroneous cases involving intellectuals. It has restored or instituted through appraisal titles of professional posts for many. It has conferred commendations or awards on intellectuals who have made contributions. It has solved some comrades' problems of accommodation or problem of having their family members living apart, and so on. It has improved wages, pay and conditions, and so on. These categories of work should continue to be done in the future. At present, middle-aged intellectuals constitute the backbone of various trades and professions. They have to bear heavy burdens in their work and in supporting their families.



We must help them to solve those problems which should be and can be solved. Leading cadres must opportunely understand intellectuals' thinking and conditions of work and living. They must listen to their views and demands. In particular, they must study how to fully bring their role into play. Because the influences of "leftist" mistakes have not been completely eliminated, at present, some comrades still do not fully understand the intellectuals' status and role in the current period. In his article entitled "Be a Thoroughgoing Materialist," Comrade Hu Yaobang says: "We have not finished our work of implementing our policies concerning the intellectuals. We have not satisfactorily made use of the intellectuals. We have not satisfactorily solved many of their actual problems, such as accommodation, their family members living apart, wages and so on. However, some of our comrades now say that we are treating the intellectuals too well and they have become cocky. Thus, it can be seen that our work has met great impediment. As soon as the intellectuals' status has been raised, a very small minority of comrades want to repress them again. In this respect, comrades of various related quarters must do some work. Over many years, in many ways, our attitude to knowledge and the intellectuals has neither been materialist nor Marxist. Today, we must end discrimination against the intellectuals and overcome remnants of ideologies embodying such discrimination. We must resolutely take measures to solve this problem." There are two ways to solve this problem. The first is to build up public opinion, that is, to educate and convince all our cadres and the masses. Second, we must vigorously grasp the implementation of policies concerning the intellectuals, mainly through inspection, supervision and urging.

A powerful and large contingent is necessary for building socialist spiritual civilization, which is both a task for the whole party and a common task for various fronts in our country. Ideological-political workers, various categories of cultural and scientific workers as well as education workers shoulder a particularly important responsibility in building socialist spiritual civilization. To strengthen the building of this contingent, we must require members of this contingent to: First, conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; second, go deep into society and among the masses, discovering and solving new problems in actual work; and third, clearly understand the aim of devoting all their efforts to the achievement of socialist modernization and doing their best to make contributions.

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## PROFOUND KNOWLEDGE AND GENUINE KNOWLEDGE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 83 inside back cover

[Article by Song Changrui [1345 7022 3843]]

[Text] Some party members think that they have a profound knowledge of Marxism because, after joining the party, they study books on Marxism-Leninism and work for the communist movement. Therefore, they pay little attention to a systematic education in communist ideology.

This brings to mind a famous thesis by Hegel: Profound knowledge is not genuine knowledge. In the preface to "A Study of Mental Phenomena," he said: "Generally speaking, something profoundly known is not genuinely known precisely because it is profoundly known." These words reveal a relatively common phenomenon and state a truth which is easily overlooked.

In real life, examples of knowing something profoundly but not genuinely are numerous. For example, everyone knows the sun well because they see it every day. However, probably not everyone has some knowledge of the theories concerning the sun's creation, age and composition and the laws concerning its movement, not to mention the conducting of advanced and rigorous studies to understand in depth the sun's numerous mysteries. Another example is that people can be said to know themselves profoundly. However, they probably do not clearly understand their own bodies, including their internal organs, bones, muscles, nerves, physiological structure and so on. Facts are different from principles. Some of those who believe themselves to know communism profoundly actually do not necessarily have a genuine knowledge or understanding of the scientific communist ideological system. Perhaps they have a superficial knowledge of this system but do not understand its essential principles. If this were not the case, why do some people begin to vacillate whenever a storm arises, lose heart whenever there is a setback, and feel depressed whenever there are relapses?

Profound knowledge can be said to be a positive negation of ignorance, and is usually a necessary precondition for a development from knowing something profoundly to knowing it genuinely. However, profound knowledge does not thus amount to genuine knowledge. After all, an invisible but real bridge separates profound knowledge from genuine knowledge, and people often

ignore the existence of this bridge, mistaking profound knowledge for genuine knowledge and refraining from further conscientious study or exploration. Consequently, their understanding of various problems remains stagnant and cannot advance to any extent. This is precisely the reason why some people who have had a "profound knowledge" of communism for many years do not really understand the scientific communist ideological system, are full of muddled ideas in their thinking, or even do not know the ABC's of Marxism.

It should be noted that the so-called "wavering of faith" in communism of some individuals is due to the fact that their faith has been diluted by water and they really have never been firm, and so it is not strange that they should waver now. Some other people really have never understood the true scientific content of communism. If they are questioned about their faith or about the reasons why they waver, they will be totally at a loss. Strictly speaking, they have nothing to do with faith or wavering. Thus, they are only like "willow leaves dangling wildly in the winds, and flakes of peach blossom drifting casually on the waters." Any profound knowledge of communism is even more probably out of the question for these comrades.

It should also be noted that some of those who joined the party during those years of upheaval knew little about the communist ideological system. Moreover, during those times when right and wrong were confounded and evil and good were mistaken for each other, many fallacies, which were really "leftist" ideas but were extolled as communism, were rampant in society. Thus, in the speck of knowledge about communism, of which people thought they had a profound knowledge, an element of bogus communist ideas was possibly present. If this kind of knowledge could be considered as some real knowledge of communism, then we have to quote the saying: "Prejudice deviates farther from the truth than ignorance."

People cannot possibly know everything in the boundless universe so full of complicated things. We should not require everyone to thoroughly study "the sun" or "the human body," which have been mentioned above, unless one is an astronomer or a medical expert, just as we must not require a physicist to be also a doctor of law. However, each communist must be required to have a genuine knowledge and understanding of Marxism-Leninism as a discipline, because a very firm faith in the communist cause can only be built on a very firm scientific foundation. If our party is to remain a purely Communist Party and an advanced proletarian party, we must not allow some communists to be content with a profound knowledge of the communist ideological system, or to be content with being ignorant, or even to be handicapped by prejudices. To this end, we must eliminate various kinds of muddled knowledge, and resolutely and systematically educate the vast numbers of party members in communist ideology. In this respect, Stalin said: "One of the best methods of educating these comrades in Marxism is to systematically repeat and patiently explain the so-called 'well-known' truths." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol II, p 545)

According to the Marxist viewpoint, the communist ideological system is neither something from heaven nor something inherent in people's mind; it is something external to man. Therefore, only if we persist in sustained and unceasing "instillation" in this way, can communist ideology be incorporated in people's thinking and can all communists be made to highly respect communist ideals and firmly believe in them.

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END